

MARK STEYN SINGS!
P.74

EXCLUSIVE EXCERPT

HOW TO BE A SUCCESS

Malcolm Gladwell's new BLOCKBUSTER P.57

Aniston's fall from sweetheart to spinster
P.72



MACLEAN'S

Stephen Harper courts Obama
P.18

DEC. 1st 2008

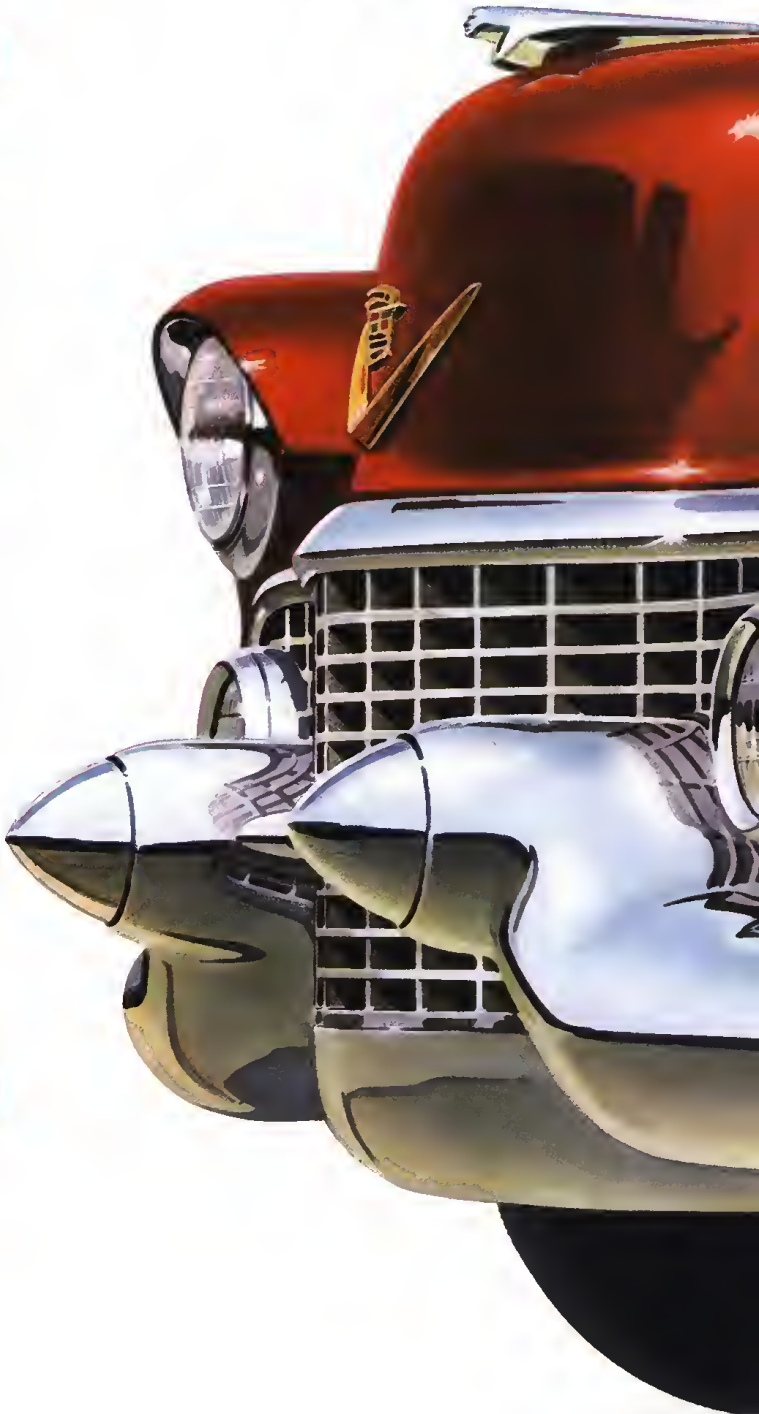
www.macleans.ca

SPECIAL REPORT

THE LONG, SORRY DECLINE AND ULTIMATE CRASH OF THE MIGHTY NORTH AMERICAN CAR INDUSTRY

(Who's to blame and what's next)

P.34



$5.95 PM 40070230 R 08973

48

0 55113 70001 9



EVERYONE KNOWS GREEN TEA IS RICH IN ANTIOXIDANTS BUT DO YOU KNOW WHY IT'S GREEN?

ONE WORD: ENVY



NESCAFÉ® HAS 50% MORE ANTIOXIDANTS THAN GREEN TEA



Coffee is a natural source of antioxidants. And Nescafé is 100% coffee – pure and simple. So naturally, it's got lots of antioxidants. And its controlled roasting process preserves them – so well in fact, that Nescafé coffees have 50% more antioxidants than green tea. And something else. A rich-brewed taste that you can't start the day without.

NESCAFÉ. THERE'S NO BETTER WAY TO START YOUR DAY.

NATURAL SOURCE OF ANTIOXIDANTS

™

*85mg Bioavailable Polyphenol Antioxidants per 175ml Serving

COVER: PLANET 5® RIGHT INSET: C.J. LAFRANCE/GETTY IMAGES THIS PAGE: WATHIQ KHUZAIE/REUTERS

THIS WEEK

Columns

10 | CAPITAL DIARY
Mitchel Raphael on Elizabeth May's cancelled invite, the political leanings of Steve Paikin's eldest son Zach, and Xavier Trudeau's wave

15 | PAUL WELLS
The three candidates for the Liberal party's leadership are settling nicely into their roles: the front-runner, the challenger and the spoiler

1E | ANDREW COYNE
The question isn't whether the Big Three automakers can be saved but whether they're worth saving

17 | ANDREW POTTER
Imagine what a three-ringed circus it would be if the Liberals merged with the Greens and the NDP into one party

National

1E | A NEW NEIGHBOUR
It's clear Barack Obama's agenda will be jam-packed once he takes office. What are Ottawa's chances of making Canada's presence felt in a changing Washington?

22 | THE BLOC PARTIES ON
The Bloc Quebecois is returning to Parliament more or less intact and isn't likely to be any less demanding this time around

24 | BLAME CANADA
What a U.S. army textbook is teaching future colonels and generals about security at the Canada-U.S. border

25 | SMELL-O-METER
The feds' plan to fight stinky farms; a yard-sale find lands a buyer in hot water; Catholics are flocking to Conservatives

World

2E | PLEASE GO AWAY
Foreign Affairs has ignored offers of help from a key witness despite promises to bring to justice those responsible for the torture and murder of Zahra Kazemi

MACLEAN'S

VOLUME 121 NUMBER 47, DECEMBER 1, 2008 - SINCE 1905

2 From the Editors 6 Mail Bag
8 Seven Days

DECEMBER 1-8, 2008



The notorious Abu Ghraib prison still exudes malevolence

THE BACK PAGES

EE | Media
Kenneth Whyte on the trials of book cover design

71 | Books
The breast cancer survivors' stories that no one wants to hear

72 | Fame
How did Jennifer Aniston become the poster girl for crying yourself to sleep at night?

74 | Music
Mark Steyn's next battle? Defending Christmas songs

75 | Film
Sean Penn stars in *Milk*, the story of the first openly gay man elected to public office in the U.S.

7E | Bezear
Is Bono one of God's messengers?

77 | Stage
Ian Tyson bares his soul and frayed vocal chords in a new CD

7E | Feechuk
Keeping you informed on what the idiots have been up to

E0 | The End
David Harry Panas 1948-2008

ON THE COVER: The Big Three are racing in the bottom of the ninth

SUBSCRIBE TO MACLEAN'S AT WWW.MACLEANS.CA

World (continued)

28 | STUFFING BALLOTS
In the U.S., voters got to decide whether pregnant pigs should be allowed to turn around and whether unmarried couples could adopt

30 | A NOTORIOUS PAST
Abu Ghraib prison, where the scandal involving U.S. troops unfolded, is set to reopen. In part as a museum

32 | TEL AVIV'S MOB NIT
A gang war in Israel. Hugo Chávez's determined rival. disturbing allegations about organ trafficking in Kosovo

Business

34 | COVER STORY
GOING, GOING...
Time is running out for Detroit to get its automotive house in order. Can the Big Three turn themselves around in time?

42 | STEVE MAICN
Should we really be indulging "Net geners" at work? Haven't young people always thought they were smarter than their bosses?

5E | GRIM NOLIDAYS ANEAD
Even Santa's not safe from the recession Grinch: a nuclear reactor that fits on a truck; AIG execs' poolside seminar

Society

57 | RIGNT PLACE AND TIME
Malcolm Gladwell, author of *The Tipping Point*, talks about plane crashes and the minimum IQ for success

59 | HOW TO BE A SUCCESS
Gladwell's new book *Outliers* offers surprisingly simple advice on what you need to do to make it big

Health

E2 | A MIDWIFE CRISIS
With only 700 registered midwives and a third of OB/GYNs retiring by 2013 in Canada, prospective moms may want to rethink their plans for having a baby

Newsmakers

EE | WORLD'S BEST BUTT
A quest for derriere perfection; heavy metal hits Iraq; a regal cruise farewell



TORONTO LIFE called Asqa's murder an honour killing, Vancouver Olympics' Dick Pound

Using the right words for the right reason

The first step to any solution is to define the problem But lately it seems definition has become the problem, particularly when it comes to race, religion and culture

This month *Toronto Life* claimed the murder of 16-year-old Aqsa Parvez was "Canada's first honour killing." Aqsa was strangled in her home last year Her father and brother have been charged with murder As the article explains, her short life was marked by tempestuous battles with her family over Muslim clothing, culture and mores Reaction to the use of the term "honour killing" has been fierce Feminist and Islamic groups even organized a press conference to denounce the magazine Their argument is that Aqsa's death should be seen as an example of domestic violence rather than connected in any way to the specific cultural aspects of her home life.

This urge to eliminate the phrase and its meaning is troubling and curious The Oxford English Dictionary just added honour killing to its word collection last year And its definition—"the killing of a (usually female) relative perceived to have brought dishonour upon the family, associated especially with certain cultures in which familial honour is of paramount importance"—appears to exactly fit the alleged circumstances of Aqsa's murder Like date rape, honour killing adds to our understanding of a situation where the generic term "domestic violence" does not

In a similar vein, the *Globe and Mail* columnist Margaret Wente was the recent recipient of numerous verbal attacks when she defended Vancouver Olympic figure Dick Pound for characterizing North America as being a "land of savages" 400 years ago As Wente noted, the term reflects the chasm of progress that existed between Stone Age natives and European explorers from the Age of Reason during the first contact period It's fair comment, and accurate besides. And there was plenty of savagery to go around back then But it prompted wild accusations of racism

This sympathy we feel for other journalists who've dared to point out forbidden truths stems from the fact we've been there ourselves The institutionalization of anti free speech efforts through human rights commissions and other groups poses a serious threat to intelligent discourse in this country We all have a role to play in defending freedom of speech

Perhaps there is hope for better days ahead At the Conservative party policy convention in Winnipeg, delegates gave near unanimous approval to a motion protecting free speech from the efforts of the Canadian Human Rights Commission. The resolution isn't binding, but at least it's a start

WE'VE MADE big changes at *Macleans.ca*. Our redesigned website is now easier to read and navigate with more Web exclusive content, photos, quizzes and analysis from Canada's best bloggers. And comments are open, so you can debate every story and post with fellow readers and our award-winning writers.

CONGRATULATIONS to Joseph Boyden, whose novel *Through Black Spruce* won the prestigious Scotiabank Giller Prize last week Boyden is a regular contributor to *Maclean's*, and has written on everything from the rebuilding of New Orleans to the perils facing Ontario's Moose River basin M

MACLEAN'S

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
KENNETH WHYTE

EDITOR
Mark Stevenson
SENIOR EXECUTIVE EDITOR
Paete Kavanagh
MANAGING EDITORS
Dianna de Feroyl, Dianna Symonds
EXECUTIVE EDITOR
Steve March
MANAGING EDITOR, SPECIAL PROJECTS
Tony Keller
NATIONAL EDITOR
Andrew Coyne
SENIOR EDITORS
Mary Dwyer (University Rankings) Lianne George, Duncan Hood Jamil Mitchell Sarmishta Subramanian (Features)
SENIOR COLUMNIST
Paul Wells
NATIONAL CORRESPONDENTS
Jonathon Gatehouse, Charla Gillis (National Affairs)
SENIOR WRITERS
Brian Bethune, Michael Friscolanti, Brian D. Johnson, Anne Kingston, Jason Kirby, Michael Petrou
ASSOCIATE EDITORS
Colin Campbell, Cathy Gulli, Barbara Righton, Jaime J. Weinman, Aaron Wherry
ASSISTANT EDITORS
Alexandra Shimo (Assistant Editor), Jen Cutts (Copy Editor)
BUREAUX
Ottawa: John Geddes (Editor) Quebec: Martin Patriquin (Assistant Editor), Calgary: Nicholas Köhler, British Columbia: Ken MacQueen, Nancy Macdonald (Correspondent) Washington: Luiza Ch. Savage
EDITORS AT LARGE
Kate Fillion, Peter Shawn Taylor
RESEARCHER-REPORTERS
Cameron Ainsworth-Vincze, Meg Floyd, Patricia Treble
STAFF REPORTER
Kate Lunau
INTERNS
Rachel Mendelsohn, Susan Mohammad
LIBRARY
George Serbejczuk (Library Technician)

Design
ART DIRECTOR
Christine Dewsbury (on leave)
ART DEPARTMENT
Jason Logan (Design Consultant), Stephen Gregory (Assistant Art Director) Una Jan cjevic, Adam Chrisowa (Designers) Dan Palkowski, Bob Wilson (Contributing Artists)
PHOTO DEPARTMENT
Andrew Tolson (Director of Photography), Jeff Harris (Associate Photo Editor), Liz Sulliven (Assistant Photo Editor)

Production and Technology
DIRECTOR
Sean McCloskey
SYSTEMS COORDINATOR
Joe Power
DIGITAL OPERATIONS CONTRIBUTOR
Richard Reddett

Administration
MANAGER OF EDITORIAL SERVICES
Christine Johnston
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT
Jessica Allen
BOARD OF EDITORS
Barbara Amiel, Sally Armstrong, John Bemrose, Sheryl Feschuk, Danyle Hawkins, Adnan R. Khan, Robert Lewis, William Lowther (Washington), Julia McKinnell, Peter C. Newman, Andrew Potter, Mitchell Raphael, Alexandre Trudeau (International)
ON-LINE SERVICES: MACLEANS.CA
Sheldon Sawchuk (General Manager) Shanda Deziel (on leave) John Intini (Managing Editor) Erin Millar (Editor, University), Phil Ioss Gohier, Kelly O'Malley Chris Selley (Assistant Editors) Andrea Ball, Jonathan McKinnon (Producers)

HOW TO REACH US

BY EMAIL
For letters to the editor story proposals
letters@macleans.ca

With letters please supply name address and daytime telephone number We welcome readers views, but letters may be edited for space style and clarity

To search our archives
www.macleans.ca/search

BY PHONE
To comment on the magazine
(416) 764-1706
1-800-268 9119 (ext 1706)

BY MAIL
Maclean's, 11th floor
One Mount Pleasant Road
Toronto, Ont. M4Y 2Y5

Editorial department
(416) 764-1338
Fax (416) 764-1332

MACLEAN'S SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

ON THE WEB
Online service—see Customer Care Services below
www.macleans.ca/service

BY PHONE
1 888 MACLEANS
(1 888 622 5326)
In Toronto
(905) 946 0084

OFFICE HOURS:
Monday–Friday
8 a m to 8 p m
Saturday
10 a.m to 5 p m EST

BY MAIL
Maclean's
PO Box 850 Station Main
Markham Ont. L3P 8N8

BY EMAIL
service@macleans.ca

Customer Care Services
Visit us online to
- Subscribe or renew your subscription
- Change your mailing address
- Check your account status
- Report delivery problems
- Check your payment standing
- Give the gift of *Maclean's*
- View our privacy policy
- Check your expiry date
- Pay your invoice
- Learn about the *Maclean's* In-Class Program
- Sign up for Storyline—a free enewsletter about *Maclean's*

MAIL PREFERENCES:
From time to time other organizations ask *Maclean's* if they may send some of its subscribers information about products or services that might be of interest. If you prefer that we not provide your name and address (email and/or postal) contact us in any of the ways I stated above

FRAGRANCE-FREE READING:
Subscribers who do not wish to receive advertisers scent strips in their copies of *Maclean's* should contact us by phone mail or email

DIMITRIOS PAPADOPOULOS/CP

ENTERTAINING



Dress
to impress.

SPREAD THE RITZ

Ritz Cracker's 2008

MACLEANS.CA

This week on the Web



Opening weekend

Film critic Brian D. Johnson reviews *Twilight*, tha hotly anticipated vampire thriller, at macleans.ca/unscreened

BLOG CENTRAL



INKLESS WELLS
"Harper was supposed to be province-friendly, and in one big way—the scale of federal transfers to the provinces—he's been friendly enough to choke a horse." macleans.ca/wells



INSIDE THE QUEENSWAY
"Bob Rae is already in full avuncular (but don't push him because he'll destroy you in debate) mode" macleans.ca/omalley



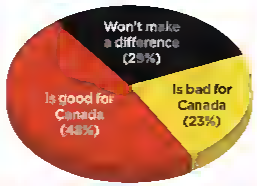
BEYOND THE COMMONS
"To what extent would Michael Ignatieff's election as prime minister encourage Smart People to participate in Canadian politics?" macleans.ca/wherry



UNSCREENED
"There's too much wall-to-wall action, and not enough dialogue in the new Bond. With actors as good as Daniel Craig and Judi Dench, that's a sad waste." macleans.ca/unscreened

WEB POLL RESULTS

An Obama administration...



THIS WEEK'S POLL: macleans.ca/poll

YOUR DAILY FIX



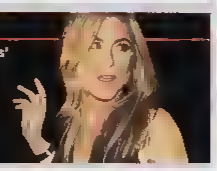
Megapundit
Chris Selley reads all of Canada's newspaper columnists so you don't have to. Get his roundup at macleans.ca/megapundit

NEW BLOG



Vancouver 2010
From now until the opening ceremonies, check out our newest blog for all your Olympic news and gossip macleans.ca/van2010

SCOTT FESCHUK'S MAILBAG



Every Monday, our resident funny guy answers readers' questions, no matter how absurd. Here's a sample:
How do bicycle couriers decide what to wear on casual Fridays? —Kevin, Ottawa
Who is in the right in this Jennifer Aniston/Angelina Jolie feud? —Neo, Ottawa
Read Scott's answers at macleans.ca/feschuk

MACLEAN'S

PUBLISHER
KENNETH WHYTE

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER
Julie Orbonne

Advertising Sales
Toronto (416) 764-1300
sales@macleans.ca

SVP, SALES, CONSUMER PUBLISHING
Kathryn Wright

GROUP GROUP ADVERTISING DIRECTORS
Lorraine Hasler, Angela Jones

DIRECTOR, CORPORATE SALES, MIDWEST AND EASTERN USA
Jane Avery

DIRECTOR, HEALTHCARE SUPPLEMENTS
Nick Cino

SALES MANAGER, TORONTO
Laura Cerlon

ACCOUNT MANAGERS, TORONTO
Marie-Claude Beaudry, Sonja Chilcott, Jacqueline Hammill, Penny Hicks, Darrin Lennox, Sean Smith

SENIOR NATIONAL ACCOUNT MANAGER, SOUTHWEST USA AND TEXAS
Roberta Thomsen

Montreal (514) 845-5141
montreal@rogers.com

VICE-PRESIDENT, SALES, EASTERN CANADA
Lise Hillette

ACCOUNT MANAGERS, MONTREAL
Julie Choquette, Barbara Cramer, Louise Tousignant

Western Canada (604) 739-9075
karen@rogerswest.com

WESTERN CANADA MANAGER
Karen Marshall

ACCOUNT MANAGERS, WESTERN CANADA
Lisa Wagner, Jennifer Wonicombe

Advertising Sales Administration
ADVERTISING SERVICES MANAGER
Kathryn Murphy

SALES COPY WRITER
Céline Gauthier, Shannon Gurry, Jessica Hansen, Veronica Serbiczuk

ADVERTISING SALES SUPERVISOR
Barbara Lewczuk

Advertising Representatives
Western U.S. Peter D. Scott
England, Scandinavia, Graeme Brown, France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Bernard Pingree, Germany, Renate Gaul, Arne Gaul, Spain, Portugal, Fionn O'Riain

Production
VP, PRODUCTION
John Hall

DIRECTOR OF PRODUCTION
Colleen Carnahan

PRODUCTION MANAGER
Natasha Hunt (on leave), Joan Antonio

Research
DIRECTOR, RESEARCH
Amy Sullivan

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, RESEARCH
Anna Maria Tremonti

Communications
SENIOR COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR
Sunera Thobani

PUBLIC RELATIONS CONSULTANT
Lauren Leger

Marketing
DIRECTOR
Seonn Kwak

MANAGERS
Lina Graham, Sarah Jane Pearce

Strategic Creation
VICE-PRESIDENT
Jacques Lachance

STRATEGIC DIRECTOR
Clodagh Wilson

STUDIO MANAGER
Nevin Azzam

ART DIRECTORS
Maria Berk, Yvonne Lines

DESIGNERS
Rodney Reston, Linda Chaudy, Nathalie VanderHeyden, Monica Verges

PRODUCTION WRITER
John McCurdy

PROJECT MANAGERS
Rajh Fraser, Josh Prieur, Nicole Pease

macleans.ca
VICE-PRESIDENT
CONSUMER PUBLISHING WEBSITES
Louise Clements

GENERAL MANAGER
Sheldon Sawchuk

ADVERTISING DIRECTOR
Jennifer Sage (on leave), Sandra Mackechnie (Acting Director)

ACCOUNT MANAGERS
Nicole Balkan, Jennifer Blaney, Olga Briant, Allyson Burley, Thibault Duval, Jennifer Goodman, Manon Leduc, Stefania Mancini, Sydney Robertson, Melissa Tyer, Joe White

WEB SALES COORDINATORS
Marina Tsoulouhas, Shaun Tulloch

Consumer Marketing
VP, CONSUMER MARKETING
Tracey MacKay

DIRECTOR, CONSUMER MARKETING
Elizabeth Fenton

DIRECTOR, DATA & SALES
Mark Hamel

CONSUMER MARKET DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR
Brenda Luckow

MANAGER, MAGAZINE EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
Marian Kucharski

Business Operations
BUSINESS DIRECTOR
Barbara Anger

BUSINESS MANAGER
Elida Loureiro

REPRINT AND PERMISSIONS REQUESTS:
Christina Johnston
(416) 764-1307

OCCUPYWEST
Barbara Murray

Rogers Media Inc.
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER
Anthony Viner

Rogers Publishing Limited
PRESIDENT & CEO
Brian Segal

SVP, CONSUMER PUBLISHING AND PRESIDENT, BUSINESS MEDIA—QUEBEC
Marc Blondeau

SENIOR VICE-PRESIDENTS
Michael J. Fox, John McRae

VICE PRESIDENTS
Irmeli Chen Wah, Patrick Renard

ROGERS

Maclean's, established 1905, is published weekly, except for occasional combined, expanded or premium issues, which count as two subscription issues, by Rogers Publishing Limited, a division of Rogers Media Inc. Rogers Publishing Limited, One Mount Pleasant Road, Toronto, Ont. M4Y 2Y5. Montreal office, 1200 avenue McGill College, Bureau 800, Montreal Que. H3B 4G7

Maclean's ISSN 0024 9262. Full subscription price for one year is $66.64 plus applicable taxes, U.S.A. $99.00 for two, all other countries, $229.00 annual.

CANADIAN POSTMASTER:
Undeliverable copies and change of address notices to: Maclean's, P.O. Box 660, Station Main, Markham, Ont. L3P 3H8

Publications Mail Agreement No. 40070730 Registration No. 08973

We acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada, through the Publications Assistance Program (PAP) and the Canada Magazine Fund, toward our mailing and editorial costs.

U.S. POSTMASTER:
Periodical postage paid at Niagara Falls, NY (USPS 359-790). Office, 2424 Niagara Falls Blvd., Niagara Falls, NY 14304-1068. Send address changes (form 3579) to Maclean's, P.O. Box 4541, Buffalo, NY 14240

Printed in Canada by Quebecor World inc

Contents Copyright© 2008 by Rogers Publishing Limited. May not be reprinted without permission. Maclean's receives unsolicited material (including letters to the editor, press releases, promotional items and images) from time to time. Maclean's, its affiliates and agents may use, reproduce, modify, publish, distribute, exhibit and archive such unsolicited material in whole or in part in any form or medium whatsoever without compensation, for any purpose. Unsolicited material does not apply to those who submit letters published in Maclean's, which are subject to our standard terms and conditions. Maclean's welcomes photographers and cartoonists in accordance with known industry practices.



Rewards with no surprises at redemption.
Yes, it's a cold day in hell.

It's really happened. With Capital One® No Hassle Rewards,™ there are no surprises at redemption. Go where you want, when you want – without the hassle of blackout dates or seat restrictions. You can even redeem for merchandise, gift cards or cash. Visit www.capitalone.ca/rewards to find out more.



No Hassle Rewards™

- Reward miles never expire
- No hidden fees
- Pay travel taxes with reward miles

capitalone.ca/rewards

© 2008 Capital One Services, Inc. Capital One is a registered trademark. All trademarks used herein are owned by the respective entities. All rights reserved. Subject to credit approval. Not available to residents in QC, NT, NU or YT.



'The country is saddened by the tragedy of Brandon Crisp. It was an accident. No one is to blame.'

THE HEARTBREAK OF LISTERIA

THANK YOU FOR Michael Friscolanti's article about the listeria outbreak at Maple Leaf Foods ("How safe is your food?" Business, Nov. 10). It was very moving for me as my mother, Elizabeth Schroh, passed away in August after it was confirmed her blood contained *Listeria monocytogenes*. Listeriosis was not recorded on her death certificate as the cause of death, so she is not counted among the Public Health Agency of Canada's numbers, it stands at 20 when I know it should be 21. How many other deaths occurred and were not recorded? Sadly my mother became ill in early June (about the same time as the listeria started showing up), tested positive during the peak of the infection and died one day before the recall. The unsettling part for me is that my mother didn't choose to eat this food. It was on the menu at the health facilities where she received care. She was a remarkable woman and a wonderful mother and grandmother. She is sadly missed.
Alicia Bigland, Summerland, B.C.

MY UNBORN BABY girl was one of the many uncounted victims of the listeria outbreak in the Maritimes in 1981. I ate infected coleslaw while I was pregnant. The cabbage for the coleslaw was fertilized by a farmer using untreated pig manure. We did not think of suing the farmer—what good would it have done? Is Maple Leaf being sued because people feel it can afford to pay? Maple Leaf seems to have followed the guidelines for plant cleanliness and their products were still infected, so I cannot blame it entirely for this outbreak. Listeria and other viruses are everywhere and are becoming resistant to our efforts to contain them.
Jan Wood, Halifax

WHAT I WONDER is why continue to produce these luncheon meats in the first place? They are not a necessity in any sense of the word. They give the industry a way of disposing of meat by-products that they would otherwise have to throw away. The best way to avoid the risk is to eliminate the products entirely, as a great many consumers already have.
Betty Whyte, Nanaimo, B.C.

WRITER MICHAEL FRISCOLANTI is very well-researched in the science of a technically challenging topic—listeria and related testing in ready-to-eat facilities. We applaud his research and his efforts. However, we wanted to draw your attention to two facts where additional clarification may be required. The first is regarding the inclusion of children as a risk group. Data available from the U.S. Centers for Disease Control's FoodNet clarifies that at-risk populations are pregnant women and their unborn children, newborns, people over 60, and people whose immune systems are compromised. Specifically, the CDC shows that healthy children over 30 days of age to healthy adults of 30 years of age are among the least susceptible to listeria. Listeria is a rare disease that seldom affects healthy people. Similar information is also found on the website of the *Canadian Medical Association Journal* at *www.cmaj.ca*. Additionally, the article references that the slicers in the Maple Leaf facility were "covered with listeria." Listeria was in fact found deep within the slicers in a specific harbourage point, beyond manufacturer's directions for daily cleansing. The term "covered" implies both a lack of cleanliness and a frequency of listeria findings on contact surfaces, which was not the case. These machines were sanitized between six to eight hours each day following production and frequently tested for listeria as part of the company's intensive environmental monitoring program.
Lynda Kuhn, Senior Vice President, Communications and Consumer Affairs, Maple Leaf Foods Inc., Toronto



BARLOW AND COUILLARD

AS PENANCE for listing Maude Barlow's appointment by the UN as special adviser on water issues under "Bad News" rather than "Good News" (Seven Days, Nov. 10), I suggest you invite Barlow to be interviewed. This would provide her the opportunity to speak for herself, correct your statements and provide first-hand information. Barlow has worked tirelessly for decades to promote social justice, Canadian sovereignty, countless humanitarian causes, and has significant national recognition. Contrary to your opinion, her UN appointment will facilitate a full and open debate on the water issue. She deserves at least as much coverage in *Maclean's*—Canada's foremost national magazine—as Julie Couillard.
D.V. Ingwersen, Calgary

VIDEO (AND BLAME) GAMES

THE POINT of view taken in the article written by Colin Campbell and Jonathon Gatehouse about the disappearance of 15-year-old Brandon Crisp after arguing with his parents over a video game ("What happened to Brandon?" Society, Nov. 10) further enforces stereotypes about gamers. It portrays them as lonely and isolated adolescents who generally have poor grades, are socially inept and maybe even considered violent or disturbed. Contrary to such opinions, gamers are not much, if at all, different from the average person. Gaming, along with movies and music, has long been the fall guy for parents and the media in the blame game. It is about time for society to catch up to technology, and for parents and the media to become educated and stop creating fallacies about gamers, including Brandon Crisp.
Matt DiVito, Barrie, Ont.

OF ALL THE TROUBLE a 15-year-old boy can get into these days, playing too much Xbox ranks pretty low on the list. I'd like to ask the parents of thousands of teenage drug addicts, alcoholics, prostitutes and car thieves if having their kids stuck in the basement playing a video game really is so terrible. Perhaps playing Call of Duty non-stop is not the worst thing that could happen after all.
Brian K. French, Chatham, Ont.

THE ENTIRE country is saddened by the recent discovery of Brandon Crisp's body. This tragedy was an unfortunate accident with no one to blame.
Richard Busse, Calgary

THE END ZONE

I AM WRITING to say how much I appreciated the piece on guitarist Nelson Symonds (The End, Nov. 10). Thanks also for getting trumpeter/organist Kevin Dean, arranger/band leader Vic Vogel, saxophonist Dave Turner, bassist David Gelfand and guitarist Greg Clayton—all special musicians in their own right—to weigh in on Symonds' quiet but nonetheless important legacy. We are living during a time when many jazz masters are leaving us quite quickly—in recent months we have lost Johnny Griffin, Neil Hefti, Ronnie Matthews and Bobby Durham, in addition to Nelson Symonds. Congratulations to *Maclean's* writers Nicholas Kohler and Barbara Righton for an informative and most welcome tribute.
Dr. Andrew Scott, Toronto

MACLEAN'S BESTSELLERS

COMPILED BY BRIAN BETHUNE

Fiction

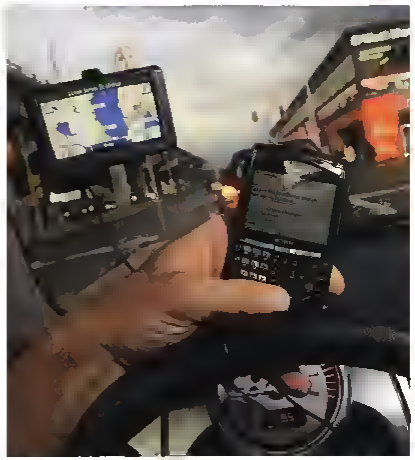
1	THROUGH BLACK SPRUCE by Joseph Boyden	1 (13)
2	COCKROACH by Rawi Hage	2 (3)
3	THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES by Nino Ricci	(1)
4	THE PRIVATE PATIENT by P.D. James	3 (6)
5	THE FLYING TROUTMANS by Miriam Toews	8 (11)
6	COVENTRY by Helen Humphreys	5 (11)
7	A MOST WANTED MAN by John Le Carre	4 (7)
8	THE GIRL WITH THE DRAGON TATTOO by Stieg Larsson	10 (8)
9	THE BRASS VERDICT by Michael Connelly	8 (2)
10	THE WHITE TIGER by Aravind Adiga	7 (5)

Non-fiction

1	THE SNOWBALL by Alice Shroeder	4 (7)
2	WHAT IS AMERICA? by Ronald Wright	5 (3)
3	THE ASCENT OF MONEY by Niall Ferguson	(1)
4	NOT, FLAT AND CROWDED by Thomas Friedman	7 (10)
5	THE GIFT OF THANKS by Margaret Visser	10 (11)
6	HELL OR HIGH WATER by Paul Martin	1 (4)
7	A FAIR COUNTRY by John Ralston Saul	2 (6)
8	LOVE'S CIVIL WAR by Victoria Glendinning	3 (4)
8	CLIMATE WARS by Gwynne Dyer	6 (5)
10	CHAMPLAIN'S DREAM by David Hackett Fischer	9 (4)

LAST WEEK (WEEKS ON LIST)

IRENE JOHNSTON/TORONTO STAR



DRIVING US CRAZY with laws isn't the answer, a reader says

I RECENTLY REREAD Cathy Gulli's story of twins Jenilee and Jillian Evans, who died on Dec. 30, 2005, after being hit by a young man who had allegedly been drinking (The End, Jan. 23, 2006). It's been a long time since I read it and it brought tears to my eyes once again. My son, Jon, is one of the boyfriends she speaks of in the article. It will be three years next month since the girls left us. I can't tell you how many times I think of them and miss them. It was a tragedy that we lost them, yet their story has lived on. Close to $20,000 has been donated in their memory to Students Against Drunk Driving, and from my understanding there will be a scholarship or bursary set up in their honour with those funds. Thank you again for telling their story.
Bonny Daku, Regina

BANS, BANS AND MORE BANS

YOUR EDITORIAL about the ban on the use of cellphones while driving hit the nail right on the head ("Politics of distraction," From the editors, Nov. 10). It has become increasingly popular for governments of all stripes to enact legislation that protects us from ourselves, even if it gradually reduces our personal freedoms. The most obvious example of this is the street racing law in Ontario that hands out roadside punishments without the benefit of a proper hearing. Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty clearly understands the mood of his constituents because there have been few complaints about this "guilty until proven innocent" approach to speeders. The government appears to have become distracted from dealing with the real problems facing the province. Instead of buying the OPP a $1-million airplane to catch speeders, maybe McGuinty should spend money on job retention and creation.
Ken Voss, Alliston, Ont.

WHO GETS WHAT

IN REGARD TO the editorial in which you say that Stephen Harper added $50 million to the Canada Council's budget ("Budgets for bad times," From the Editors, Nov. 3), I would like to clarify that the $50 million you refer to was a one-time allocation over two years ($20 million in 2006-07 and $30 million in 2007-08) that was announced in 2006. Subsequently, the government also allotted $30 million to the council's base budget, beginning in 2008-09.
Grace Thrasher, Acting Senior Communications Manager, Canada Council for the Arts, Ottawa

A CLICK AWAY

LAST WEEK I decided to click onto the *Maclean's* website, *macleans.ca*, just for a change and was amazed at how much better your layout and content is. It has been a long, long time since I found the *Maclean's* site to be relevant, but now I will be visiting it more often.
Alfred Vouk, Sudbury, Ont.

IN PASSING

Paula Goodspeed, 30, talent show contestant. After appearing on *American Idol* and being mocked by its panel of judges, including Paula Abdul, the would-be celebrity became an Internet figure of fun, ridiculed for her appearance and musical failings. She had a history of mental illness, and was found near Abdul's home, dead from a drug overdose.

Debby, 42, polar bear. The world's oldest polar bear was euthanized at the Assiniboine Park Zoo in Winnipeg following multiple organ failure. Debby was born and orphaned in the Soviet Union and came to Canada in 1967, where she bore six cubs. She had been seen by 18 million zoo visitors.



A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF JULIAN FANTINO

The hard-driving commissioner of the Ontario Provincial Police is spending more time fighting lawyers than crime these days. On Monday, he testified about his decision as Toronto police chief to dismantle a plainclothes unit amid reports of misconduct. On Thursday, he was to again take the stand at an OPP disciplinary hearing where officers under his command allege they faced malicious charges and punitive transfers. On Friday, he was to be back on the stand in Toronto.

Good news

New focus

After 5½ years of occupation, the end is finally in sight for U.S. forces in Iraq. The Iraqi cabinet has endorsed a new security deal that calls for a complete American withdrawal by late 2011. And it may well come sooner than that. Barack Obama told *60 Minutes* that he plans to "draw down" troops immediately after taking power, and concentrate on shoring up the fight against the Taliban and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. It looks like the help will be needed. This week, the Taliban rejected President Hamid Karzai's bold offer to talk peace, vowing to fight on.

A single standard

Judges in France got it right this week when they overturned a lower court ruling that annulled the marriage of two Muslims because the woman was not, as her husband had assumed, a virgin. The decision came mere days after a European think tank warned that Muslim reformers and critics of Islam are being silenced by Islamic extremists—the sort, one assumes, who consider premarital sex a connubial deal-breaker. Moderate Muslims will be relieved to know that courts in at least one key country are shielding civil law from undue theological influence.

Change in progress

Obama-mania is literally sweeping the world. This week saw the emergence of "the Obama suit," a slim fitting number from Bosnia's oldest clothing company, Borac, which is reportedly flying off the shelves. Then there's the Obama T-shirts being peddled by street vendors as far away as Sierra Leone, and bootleg VHS tapes of his victory speech are apparently hot sellers throughout Africa and Asia. Two towns in Japan, both named Obama, are rushing out a line of merchandise to capitalize on the president-elect's popularity. But sadly, some in America aren't so thrilled with the new commander-in-chief. The election of America's first black president has triggered more than 200 hate-related incidents, according to the Southern Poverty Law Center—a record in modern presidential elections. Some things are easier to change than others.

FACE OF THE WEEK



LILLIAN, is that you? B.C. Premier Gordon Campbell wears a cedar headband at a treaty signing with the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations.

Pounds for pounds

This week offered some rare good news for the morbidly obese. In Britain, the government launched a new fat-fighting program that pays overweight citizens to exercise—including walking their kids to school. In Beijing, the so-called Fattest Man in China shed half his weight thanks to a strict acupuncture regime. And in Quebec, a 430-lb. drug dealer nicknamed "Big Mike" was released from jail three months early because staff couldn't find a bed big enough to fit his frame. Big Mike's bulge may kill him in the end, but at least he won't die in prison.

noteworthy action in Africa last week was to name the actor Charlize Theron an official "messenger for peace." If she plans to sail the Horn, she'll need more than an olive branch for protection.

Hazy thinking

The town of Hampstead, a Montreal suburb, has banned wood-burning stoves and inserts over air pollution fears. Residents will have seven years to rid themselves of the heating sources—backups that have grown in popularity since the 1998 ice storm. And the city of Montreal may follow suit, having already asked residents to use them less frequently, citing health concerns for the elderly and those with respiratory problems. What's next? A moratorium on too-sugary maple syrup?

Bad news

The Somalian Job

The status of Somali pirates rose this week from nuisance to full on threat to energy security after water-borne bandits seized an oil supertanker in the Indian Ocean. The hijacking of the Sirius Star and its US$100-million cargo drove world crude prices up during a down week, and demonstrated the pirates' growing range (it occurred about 700 km off the Kenyan shore). Swift international action would seem to be in order. But the UN's most

Tab for keeping tabs

The federal government spends almost $600,000 a year to conduct 24-hour surveillance on a single al-Qaeda suspect living under house arrest in Ontario. If those newly released figures are any indication, it means Ottawa shells out more than $2 million annually to keep tabs on four accused terrorists who were detained on so-called security certificates—and who were ordered deported years ago. (That hefty price tag doesn't include a fifth suspect, who is now the lone inmate at a specially designed prison that costs $2.6 million a year to operate.) The men insist they're innocent, the government says they are imminent threats to national security.

Barking mad

Last week the RCMP became the latest organization to admit to using lie detectors to ask would-be recruits about past transgressions, including domestic violence, drug abuse and bestiality. Days earlier, it came to light that Halifax uses similar polygraph tests and questions to interview potential cops, firefighters and IT workers. The city's mayor has launched a review of the process after residents and media expressed outrage. Lie detectors are unreliable technology not generally accepted by Canadian courts as a measure of truth. One wonders, are human resources departments running amok? And are animal fanciers really that common? If so, maybe it's better to lie to us! M

DARRYL DYCK/CP



Way to go Alberta!

Your tireless commitment has not only recycled 50 million scrap tires to date, it continues to protect the environment and produce benefits that roll back into Alberta communities.
For more information visit albertarecycling.ca

Alberta recycling MANAGEMENT AUTHORITY electronics paint tires

MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON ELIZABETH MAY'S CANCELLED INVITE AND XAVIER TRUDEAU'S WAVE

CATHERINE AND JUSTIN

In the lead-up to the opening of the new Parliament, **Justin Trudeau** was sworn in on the Hill, a backdrop of Canadian flags on either side of him, the word Quebec on the wall above. Trudeau was accompanied by his wife, **Sophie Grégoire**, and his one-year-old son, **Xavier Trudeau**, who seemed to be able to wave on cue. **Margaret Trudeau** sat beaming in the front row and later described the day as "the beginning of a dream come true for Justin." As Trudeau was being sworn in, former PM **Joe Clark**'s daughter, **Catherine Clark**, was celebrating her birthday and hosting the Enbridge Famous 5 Ottawa Committee Luncheon at the Fairmont Château Laurier, which honoured the 2008 recipients of the Governor General's Awards in Commemoration of the Persons Case. Winners included Catherine Clark's mother, lawyer and author **Maureen McTeer**, and the first man ever to receive the award, **Ben Barry**, for his work on creating positive images of women in the fashion industry.

THE PRESS STAND UP TO HARPER

In the midst of the election, Green party Leader **Elizabeth May** was sent a letter asking her to give a satirical speech at the annual Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery dinner at the end of November. She was happy to oblige, even when, at the time, most other federal party leaders and Governor General **Michaëlle Jean** were either not attending, or were coming but not giving speeches. More recently, May says, she was sent an electronic message from press gallery president **Richard Brennan** of the *Toronto Star* revoking the offer. Was that because May's one Green MP lost his seat? One insider suggested it was because **Stephen Harper** may show up this year but doesn't want to speak and doesn't want to be embarrassed if other leaders do.



JUSTIN TRUDEAU (top), Bill Davis (middle left), Ban Barry and Elizabeth May (middle right), Steve Paikin, Zach Paikin (bottom, left), Denise Brunsdon (bottom right), (insets) Margaret Trudeau with Xaviar Trudaau; Catharine Clark, Dominic LeBlanc

A PAIKIN POLITICAL DYNASTY

TVOntario held a special launch for its new digital production facility, which it named after the station's founder, former Ontario premier **Bill Davis**, who was joined onstage by current Ontario Premier **Dalton McGuinty**. Also in attendance were TVO's most famous faces: **Polkaroo** and *The Agenda*'s **Steve Paikin**, who moderated the last two federal leaders' English debates. The debate organizers, he said, gave him one piece of advice: "The best hockey games are the ones where you don't read about the referee the next day." Paikin's oldest son **Zach Paikin**, 17, who was at the launch, has apparently caught the political bug from his father. Zach worked on Ontario PC Leader **John Tory**'s leadership bid, knocked on doors for Hamilton NDP MPP **Paul Miller** in the 2007 provincial election, and helped federal Green party candidate for Toronto Centre **Chris Tindal** in 2006. He later joined the Toronto Centre Liberal riding association so he could vote for **Bob Rae** to be the candidate in the by-election last March. He has since let his membership expire. Zach's first political rally was one for Dalton McGuinty when he was running against Tory premier **Mike Harris**. Zach was eight at the time and got so caught up in hearing about the "Harris horrors," as the Liberals put it, that he yelled out, "Yeah, we got to get rid of Harris!" An organizer took the microphone away from McGuinty and placed it in Zach's face and said, "What did you say, kid?" As the TV cameras rolled, his journalist father cringed.

SOON TO BE A HOT T-SHIRT

In the last Liberal leadership race, **Denise Brunsdon** was a key youth organizer for **Stéphane Dion**. Dion's young followers were known as "Dionistas" and even had T-shirts made up with the term. Now Brunsdon is getting behind the Liberal leadership bid of New Brunswick MP **Dominic LeBlanc** and says there's already a catchy new term for LeBlanc supporters, one with great T-shirt potential: Dominictrixes. M

ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa outtakes or to contact Mitchel Raphael, visit **macleans.ca/mitchelraphael**

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MITCHEL RAPHAEL



DIABETES AND YOUR TICKING HEART

When it comes to diabetes and its cardiovascular complications, the Canadian Diabetes Association's recently released 2008 Clinical Practice Guidelines help put prevention and management within reach

ONE OF THE MOST COMPLEX OF ALL DISEASES, diabetes has always presented a challenge to the scientific community. After the Greek physician Aretaeus of Cappodocia described diabetes as "the melting down of flesh and limbs into urine" in 120 A.D., it took almost two millennia for researchers to link the disease to the failure of key cells in the pancreas. Sir Frederick G. Banting, Dr. Charles Best's landmark discovery of insulin soon followed. Since that time, we've learned a great deal about the risk factors for diabetes and the strategies that may prevent or delay the onset of type 2 diabetes.

This knowledge cannot come too soon for the growing numbers of people with diabetes. A North American child born in the year 2000 stands a one-in-three chance of being diagnosed with diabetes in his or her lifetime, giving diabetes the status of being a major epidemic. Particularly concerning is that type 2 diabetes (the most common form, accounting for 90 percent of all cases) can shorten life by five to 10 years, while type 1 diabetes may cut back as much as 15 years. The healthcare system also buckles under the strain of diabetes, with projected annual costs in Canada reaching $15.6 billion by 2010.

As the cure for diabetes still eludes us, prevention remains the most powerful tool in our arsenal. While nobody knows how to prevent type 1 diabetes, a growing body of evidence shows that simple – though by no means easy – lifestyle measures can prevent or delay type 2 diabetes. Even if you have the disease, these same lifestyle changes can forestall its complications. In its recently updated Clinical Practice Guidelines, the Canadian Diabetes Association emphasizes the link between diabetes and heart disease – and the steps people can take to keep this serious complication at bay.

Excess weight, excess risk

Why the surge in diabetes rates? While some risk factors, such as genetic susceptibility, have likely remained stable in the population, others have soared. It's no coincidence, for example, that obesity rates have been rising in lockstep with diabetes rates.

Not to put too fine a point on it, but if you're obese, you're playing diabetes roulette. "Obesity is a massive risk factor for type 2 diabetes," says Dr. Ian Blumer, a diabetes specialist practising in the Durham region of Ontario and elected member of the Canadian Diabetes Association's Clinical and Scientific Section. In one study, adults with a body mass index (BMI) of 40 or higher – considered morbidly obese – had more than seven times the odds of having diabetes as their normal-weight counterparts. By the same token, between 80 and 90 percent of people with type 2 diabetes are overweight or obese.

The location of the excess weight also matters a great deal. "It's a statistical fact that abdominal obesity – the

Canadian Diabetes Association



Presenting the solution to living well.

Now there's a great program from Kraft Canada to help you manage your diabetes.

From glucose levels to carbs, counting is important when you have diabetes – but so is enjoying life. That's why Kraft Canada has a special program just for you. Living Well with Diabetes offers delicious recipes that fit your diabetes meal plan, plus information on nutrition, healthy eating, dining out, exercise, stress reduction and more. It's the answer you've been looking for!

It's easy to join – and FREE!
Visit **www.kraftcanada.com/diabetes**
or call **1-888-572-3803** today!

Living Well with Diabetes

so-called spare tire – raises the risk of diabetes significantly more than the same amount of excess weight distributed elsewhere in the body," Dr. Blumer explains. The reason? The spare tire reflects an excess of fatty tissue in the abdominal cavity, a metabolic environment that may cause cells to respond less well to insulin. A waist circumference equalling or exceeding 102 cm for men or 88 cm for women should send up red flags.

Nipping prediabetes in the bud

Along with the more than 2.4 million Canadians with diabetes, up to six million have prediabetes (that is, blood glucose levels approaching but not quite reaching the level that defines diabetes). The Guidelines have adopted "prediabetes" as a practical and convenient term to denote impaired fasting glucose or impaired glucose tolerance, says Dr. Gillian Booth, a scientist at the Li Ka Shing Knowledge Institute and endocrinologist at St. Michael's Hospital in Toronto. "The term brings home the point that the condition often progresses to overt diabetes," says Dr. Booth, who served on the executive and steering committees for the 2008 Guidelines. Indeed, about a quarter of untreated cases of prediabetes will progress to diabetes within three to five years.

Fortunately, the outcome of prediabetes doesn't rest on pure chance. According to Dr. Booth, a large U.S. study showed that people with prediabetes who lost approximately five percent of their body weight and stepped up their physical activity to 150 minutes per week lowered their risk of progressing to diabetes by 58 percent over the study's three-year course. Certain drugs can also put the brakes on prediabetes progression. "In some cases, early intervention can return elevated glucose levels into the normal range," she says.

This news should help motivate Canadians who assume that they have to lose massive amounts of weight to make a difference in their risk, says Dr. Blumer. "Aim for five percent of your body mass over the next year – that's 10 pounds if you weigh 200 pounds – and you may well turn back the clock," he says.

A further incentive to nip prediabetes in the bud: "Research has shown that long-term damage to the body, especially the heart and circulatory system, may already be occurring before a diabetes diagnosis," says Ellen Malcolmson, the Canadian Diabetes Association's President and CEO. An alarming case in point: in a follow-up to the widely publicized Nurses' Health Study, researchers found that the risk of cardiovascular disease began to creep up at least 15 years before a diagnosis of diabetes. Thus, "we encourage Canadians to take a more active role in their health and ask their doctor about their own risk for developing diabetes and its complications," says Malcolmson.

Regular screening underpins this proactive approach. The 2008 Guidelines recommend that all individuals 40 or older receive a fasting plasma glucose test every three years. "People with additional risk factors, such as a strong family history or obesity, require earlier and more frequent screening," says Dr. Booth.



RISK FACTORS FOR TYPE 2 DIABETES

- [illegible] with type 2 diabetes
- Member of high-risk ethnic group
- History of prediabetes
- Presence of complications associated with diabetes
- History of gestational diabetes or delivery of a very large infant
- High blood pressure, dyslipidemia
- Overweight, abdominal obesity
- Polycystic ovary syndrome, acanthosis nigricans, schizophrenia

Disabling the cardiovascular time bomb

There's no way to soft-pedal the harsh fact that almost 80 percent of people with diabetes will die from heart disease or stroke. To frame it another way, says Malcolmson, "only one in five survive." In the absence of other risk factors, diabetes raises cardiovascular risk to a high level at age 45 for men and age 50 for women. To stay one step ahead of the curve, the 2008 Guidelines recommend a baseline resting electrocardiogram (ECG) for all diagnosed individuals over 40 and those with profiles that raise their cardiovascular risk. High-risk individuals are advised to have repeat ECGs every two years.

The Canadian Diabetes Association is also encouraging Canadians to learn if their heart age is younger or older

Diagnostic criteria for diabetes	Diagnostic criteria for prediabetes
• Fasting plasma glucose < 7.0 mmol/L *OR*	• Fasting plasma glucose 6.1 – 6.9 mmol/L *OR*
• Casual plasma glucose < 11.1 mmol/L plus symptoms of diabetes *OR*	• Plasma glucose 2 hours after 75 gram oral glucose challenge 7.8 – 11.0 mmol/L
• Plasma glucose 2 hours after 75 g glucose challenge < 11.1	

Diabetic Nerve Pain?



- **Works in minutes**
 Apply topically, as needed
- **Non-prescription** and **no burning sensation**
 No disruptive side effects
- **Clinically tested**
 70% of users report relief
 Up to 8 hours of relief

Neuragen®

Fast Relief from Nerve Related Pain.



Neuragen is available at:
Shoppers Drug Mart · Pharmasave · Lawtons · Jean Coutu · Bell Pharmacy · Acadia · Pharma Plus · London Drugs · Rexall · Uniprix · IDA · Guardian · Sobeys · Save-on-Foods · Drug Mart · PharmaChoice · Wellwise · Wholehealth · metro · Pharmasave · Pharmaprix

UPC Code: 85197000028 | For a store listing visit www.neuragen.ca, for more information call 888-254-7256 | Origin+

than their chronological age and how to improve their cardiovascular health by visiting www.getserious.ca and taking a heart disease quiz during Diabetes Awareness Month this November.

The same lifestyle measures that stem the conversion of prediabetes to diabetes counteract the cardiovascular complications of diabetes. In an internationally publicized eight-year trial, subjects with type 2 diabetes were able to reduce their cardiovascular risk by up to 50 percent through a variety of lifestyle measures coupled with tight control of glucose, blood pressure, and cholesterol levels. Other studies have yielded similar findings for type 1 diabetes.

The winning lifestyle formula calls for weight loss and exercise – a double-whammy against elevated blood glucose. "I've seen it time and again in my office," says Dr. Blumer. "A patient might be taking daily insulin and not making much progress. Then she goes to a fitness club, starts to lose some weight, and her blood sugars go down to the point that she may be able to come off insulin."

People tempted to put off glucose control for a rainy day should know that early efforts count just as much as later ones. "The body seems to remember how much glucose it's been exposed to, so the earlier you get your blood sugars in line, the better off you'll be in the long run," notes Dr. Booth. "It's what is now being referred to as the legacy effect." Bottom line, "if you have diabetes, you can't put glucose control on the back burner."

Cardiovascular risk factors in people with diabetes

- Age 45+ in men and 50+ in women
- Diabetes for 15+ years
- Large vessel disease (e.g. previous heart attack or stroke)
- Small vessel disease (especially kidney and retinal disease)
- Family history of premature coronary disease or stroke in a first-degree relative
- Extreme level of a single risk factor, such as elevated lipids

Dr. Blumer, for his part, has devoted a chapter of his book *Diabetes for Canadians for Dummies* (Wiley, 2004) to what he calls the 70 percent solution, a compilation of 10 key strategies for preventing diabetes complications. "Currently available therapies and strategies allow people with diabetes to lessen their risk of organ damage by 70 percent," he says. Here's his alliterative list: eating earnestly, exercising enthusiastically, learning for life, giving the heave-ho to harmful habits, going for great glucose, containing cholesterol and taming triglycerides, beating back blood pressure, eyeing your eye doctor, fussing over your feet, and mastering medicines.

"These measures are readily available to each and every person with diabetes," says Dr. Blumer. "If they were followed, thousands upon thousands of people could lead healthier and longer lives. And it's not an all-or-nothing proposition: any improvements will make a difference." ✦

RESEARCH: FUEL FOR PROGRESS

Research is the hub of the diabetes care wheel. As Dr. Booth, an endocrinologist at St. Michael's Hospital in Toronto, points out, research leads directly to treatment advances such as more effective drugs or new forms of insulin delivery. "It also fuels our understanding of what causes diabetes and how to prevent it," she says. Finally, research points the way toward better models of diabetes care. "We've learned that a team approach, using health professionals such as nurses and dietitians along with doctors, appears to work best."

Canadian Diabetes Association

The actors are ready, the kabuki is about to begin



PAUL WELLS

Autumn, and an old Liberal's heart turns to thoughts of infighting. The Liberal Party of Canada's Ontario wing invited candidates for the party's leadership to a weekend board meeting in Toronto. There are three such fellows: Michael Ignatieff, Bob Rae, Dominic LeBlanc. They agreed to meet the party brass. Then Rae realized there would be no reporters at the event. He decided he couldn't attend. "It sends an awful signal to have a debate that is closed to media," he said in a news release.

Ignatieff's people said rules are rules. This was always going to be a private meeting, they said. Changing the rules at the last minute would send an awful signal.

LeBlanc said he agreed with Rae: closed meeting? Awful signal. But he couldn't boycott the meeting. What an awful signal that would send! Mostly, though, LeBlanc could only mourn the Rae-Ignatieff feud. You know what a Rae-Ignatieff feud is? It's a signal is what it is. What kind of signal? Awful.

Thus the three candidates for the leadership of the Party Formerly Known As Naturally Governing settle into their parts in a theatre as ancient and rigidly defined as kabuki. Each has a role assigned by circumstance. Because none can change circumstance, each will play his role to the hilt.

Ignatieff plays the front-runner. He reassures. He denies he is the front-runner. He is accompanied by mighty organizers who confer with him urgently and, in various other ways, conjure impressions of inevitability.

The front-runner will win if there are no surprises. So he hates surprises. He will not say a cross word about anyone, but he cannot help mistrusting the other candidates because they bring surprise. This is the conflict that drives his character: he loves all, but he must not permit them to act. So, loving all, he will crush them.

Bob Rae is the challenger. His central characteristic is that he does not understand why he has to be the challenger. What the hell? He thought he *had* this thing. In 2006 he surrounded himself with the shrewdest veterans of previous regimes. He spoke without scripts. In debates he rose from his chair while every one else stayed sitting. He's his own guy. He can *do* this. It was clear to him. He waited for it to become clear to everyone.

When Stephane Dion won nobody was in a worse mood than Rae. *Hadn't you people been listening?* Finally he decided he would just have to wait longer for his competence to triumph.



SEAN KILPATRICK/CP

Ignatieff will play the front-runner. He reassures. He denies he is the front-runner.

Now the moment arrives. The challenger awakes, and is amazed to discover that not everyone has been waiting. Ignatieff was gathering support while Rae gathered strength, and support is better. The challenger will lose if there is no surprise. So he must create surprises.

That's why he decided the private meeting over the weekend had to be a public debate. It's why he showed up outside the meeting, not to fold his tent and debate anyway, but to explain to reporters why he couldn't take part in such a sham. It's why he has proposed 13 public debates before Liberals choose delegates to the conventions. The challenger is prepared to talk forever if, in so doing, he can goad the front-runner into opening his own mouth. Perhaps a surprise will fall out. At this point that is the challenger's best hope.

Dominic LeBlanc is the spoiler. He can win only on a complicated bank shot. He needs the front-runner to lose so spectacularly he takes the challenger with him. The good news is that it actually worked last time, for Stéphane Dion. The bad news has the good news outnumbered. First, after it worked for Dion, everything else stopped working. Second, Dion had candidates behind him who could rally to him. LeBlanc has nobody to rally to him except himself. Because he really needs Ignatieff and Rae to screw up big time, he will be saddened to discover that everything they do is evidence of their folly. He will often be heard clucking mournfully.

There is a fourth player, stationed just off stage. The three contestants mention him often and cast worried glances in his direction. He is Stephen Harper. Does he have a favourite? Each new clue contradicts the last. Perhaps a centre-right figure like Ignatieff could mow the electoral lawn under the Harper Conservatives. Maybe an old New Democrat like Rae could end vote-splitting on the left. Maybe young LeBlanc could make Harper look like yesterday's man. Or perhaps the incumbent could crush them all.

Like any menace, Harper becomes more terrible in his opponents' imagination with every passing month. Once they called him their best guarantee of success. Now he has become the first national Conservative leader since Sir John A. Macdonald to defeat two different Liberal opponents. Can nobody stop him?

These are the characters and the shape of the stage. The play will last until delegates are selected in March for the May convention. Ignatieff must be gentle and all-embracing so he can grow toward a majority of delegates. LeBlanc must be gentle and all-embracing in case Ignatieff's shtick doesn't work. Rae needs to goad Ignatieff. He will be hounded at every turn by the front runner's supporters, who love when their man talks and are badly upset when anyone talks back.

Probably Ignatieff will win. Probably this is the last time the Liberals will surrender to the increasingly dubious charms of a delegated convention. Will Harper crush a third Liberal? I'm sure I couldn't begin to guess. M

ON THE WEB: For more Paul Wells, visit his blog at **macleans.ca/inklasswells**

The real reason a Big Three bailout is a bad idea



ANDREW COYNE

Everyone has his own favourite story of Big Auto's stupidity. Mine is the Great Invisible Japanese Trade Wall of the 1980s. At the time, Detroit was bellowing to the skies that Japan was keeping American cars out of its market, the better to support its case for restricting sales of Japanese cars in the U.S. If it was unclear how the Japanese were supposed to be doing this—Japan's trade barriers were if anything rather lower than America's—that only seemed to provoke Detroit to further heights of indignation. Those inscrutable Orientals, with their mysterious, subtle ways. Of *course* you couldn't *see* how they did it! That's why it was so effective!

Until someone pointed out that the cars the Big Three were pressing upon the Japanese consumer were left-hand drive, suitable for driving on the right side of the road. It seems Japan drives on the left. Who knew?

Oh well. We could swap stories like this for hours—of Detroit's confusing mélange of largely identical brands, its insipid designs and approximate quality, its overpaid workforce and cretinous management, its insistence on pushing gas-guzzlers and luxury cars out the door even as oil prices soared and the economy tanked. But however long a bill of indictment might be brought against Big Auto, that's not why we should refuse its demands for a bailout. This isn't about punishing Detroit for its past misdeeds. It isn't even about the auto industry, as such. It's about the economy as a whole, and how scarce resources are allocated between competing uses. Ultimately, it's about physics: the simple, inescapable reality that more of one thing means less of another.

Anyone proposing to bail out the auto industry, in whatever amount, is obliged at the least to answer the question: where does the money come from? The answer is not simply "the taxpayer." If that were all, the immediate objection—why should taxpayers be dragooned into paying for cars that consumers won't?—might be answered because the alternative is worse. Indeed, bailout proponents argue, *not* bailing out the auto industry might cost the taxpayer even more.

But the cost of such subsidies is not borne only or even primarily by the taxpayer, but by all those industries and firms that don't get bailed out. It's what economists call the opportunity cost: all the capital that subsidy traps in one industry is capital denied to other industries, all the sales diverted to one firm are sales diverted from its rivals, all the jobs "created" in one part of the economy are jobs destroyed elsewhere. Indeed, the cost of subsidy grows rather worse the more the subsidy



JESSICA RINALDI/REUTERS

The hope is that billions of dollars will succeed where hundreds of millions failed

"succeeds." For then the diversion, from the efficient and competitive to the inefficient and uncompetitive, is made permanent.

Not that there's much danger of that in the present case. The more likely scenario is that which befell the British auto industry in the 1970s: a sinkhole of declining sales and deepening losses that grows worse the more public dollars that are thrown into it, until at last the farce can no longer be sustained. But why hypothesize about the future? That's exactly what we *have* been doing, in one form or another, since the original Chrysler bailout of 1980. Whether you call it subsidies, or tariffs, or "voluntary export restraints," or innovation funds, or location incentives, we've been bailing out the North American auto industry for most of the last 30 years. And the only result has been a remorseless loss of market share, from 95 per cent in 1962 to 80 per cent in 1980 to 44 per cent today.

So the case for the bailout, even by the narrow measure of how it affects the auto industry, rests on the hope that billions of dollars will succeed where hundreds of millions have failed, that an industry in the hands of Nancy Pelosi and Tony Clement—who wants the industry, in return for public funds, to build "cars that people actually want to buy," as if the industry needed him to tell it what these were—will find the wit to compete that has eluded it until now. But of course subsidy has exactly the opposite effect. It protects the industry, not so much from competition as from the consumer, just as it spares it from innovation, defends it from efficiency, saves it from sanity. Subsidy is not the solution. It's the problem: the single biggest reason the industry is so overbuilt in the first place. Yes, the credit crisis has hit sales hard, across the industry. But you don't notice Honda and Toyota standing around with their hands out.

But what is the alternative? To listen to the industry and its apologists, *vaporization*: all those factories shuttered, all those hundreds of thousands of jobs vanished, as if in a nuclear attack. But that's not, in fact, what typically happens in a bankruptcy. Rather, GM—or Chrysler, or Ford—would gain the time and space to reschedule its debts, renegotiate its labour contracts, and otherwise reorganize itself, assuming there is any prospect of it doing so. But even in the worst-case of liquidation, the factories do not simply go up in smoke. Somebody would have to fill the demand that Detroit had previously supplied, and the fastest and cheapest way for other manufacturers, foreign or domestic, to ramp up production would be to buy up all that unused capacity.

The question, then, is not whether the North American auto industry as we have known it can be saved, but whether it is worth saving. Unless it's the other way around. M

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Coyne, visit his blog at **macleans.ca/endrewcoyne**

OPINION

Forget big tent: unite the left is more like big top



ANDREW POTTER

Liberals tend to lose their minds when they are out of power for more than one election cycle, and one of the more enjoyable consequences of Stephen Harper's second minority government is seeing otherwise cagey political operators give serious consideration to some seriously bad ideas.

The latest rotten egg is the notion that Canada's political "left"—that is, the Liberals, the NDP, and the Greens—need to unite into a single party. The cost of not doing so, apparently, will be a more or less permanent camp-out in the political wilderness as the Conservatives are handed as many electoral victories as elections they care to engineer.

This idea was first seriously floated almost two years ago when the former NDP strategist Jamey Heath released his book *Dead Centre*, which argued that the NDP needed to move toward the centre, feast on the carcass of the Liberals, and—as his book's blurb put it—"charge forward with a progressive agenda."

Like just about every idea that comes from an NDP strategist, Heath's proposal got absolutely zero pickup, least of all from Liberals who, with their 103 seats to the NDP's 29, certainly didn't feel like a party that was down for the count and ripe for a kicking. But it is amazing what losing two elections in a row can do to Liberal confidence. One defeat, especially if it results in the smallest minority government in the country's history, can be chalked up as an aberration. But two? Perhaps that means the prevailing electoral winds really have shifted.

The eternity of "Gridlock" ushered in by Jean Chrétien's third majority actually lasted just long enough for Paul Martin to introduce the nation to Bono. But being more poorly acclimatized to life on the east side of the House of Commons, it has taken the Liberals just shy of three years to start having nightmares about "Torylock." Now, having given the electoral map of Canada a once-over, they can't see an easy route back to power, and many have started musing openly about opening the flaps of the tent and inviting the NDP and even the Greens to join them in some big centre-left party, the New Liberal Greens or something like that.

Forget big tent—more like big top. Can you imagine what a three-ringed circus this new party would be? For a hint as to how clownish the whole idea is, consider that it is being sold as a good idea by a couple of long-time Tory stalwarts—Norman Spector, who was Mulroney's chief of staff for a spell, and Rod Love, who spent a long time as Ralph Klein's chief fixer. When you start taking free advice from your political opponents, odds are you'll get something worth considerably less than what you paid for it.

It is surprising that so many people seem to think that it's likely, or even necessary, for the Liberals and the left to merge. To begin with, the merger of the PCs and the Canadian Alliance was hardly the historic accomplishment its architects seem to think it was. Given that we're talking here about two factions of a party that had been united, in one form or another, since before Confederation, the 15 years they spent living apart counts as little more than a brief marital spat.

In contrast, the NDP and the Liberals have no known common ancestor, and if Frankenstein politics is your bag you might as well throw the Marxists and the Libertarians into the mix and watch the nuts and bolts fly. Most NDP supporters have a manic hatred for the Liberals, and—no small thanks to Jack Layton's success in installing Stephen Harper at 24 Sussex—Liberals are starting to feel the same way about the NDP.

Of course, even people who despise one another can find common ground when the strategic vista on offer is attractive enough. And when you do some basic math, the thought of uniting three parties that combined took around 52 per cent of the vote in the past two elections appears irresistible. If the NDP and the Liberals alone came together, they'd still be harvesting somewhere around 45 per cent of voters, enough to guarantee a healthy majority under our electoral system.

But this all assumes that support for the united party will at least match the sum of its parts. And there's absolutely no reason to think that's true. Many, perhaps even most, Liberal voters would be more comfortable voting Tory than they would for a party that had absorbed the NDP. Meanwhile, a great many NDP voters would sooner vote Green, or even Conservative in some parts of the country, than for a party that was dominated by the old Liberal caucus.

The Liberals have won plenty of majorities with the NDP on their left. When they win, it's by taking votes away from the centre-right, not from the far left. Meanwhile, a merger would be a disaster for the NDP, a party whose entire raison d'être—notwithstanding Jack Layton's recent I'm-running-for-prime-minister Walter Mitty routine—is that it is a party of conscience, not of power.

A unite-the-left movement would result in a left even more shattered and demoralized than it is now, leaving the Tories to feast on the carcass for decades to come. In recent years, close to one third of Canadian voters have willingly cast their votes for parties that have no chance of forming a government, and there is no sensible reason to deny them the opportunity to continue to do so. M



SEAN KILPATRICK/CP

Here's a hint of how clownish the whole idea is: it's being pushed by Tory stalwarts

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter, visit his blog at **macleans.ca/andrewpotter**

MEETING THE NEW NEIGHBOUR

Stephen Harper is working to find a way to be heard in the new world of Washington

BY JOHN GEDDES AND PAUL WELLS • On the evening of last Aug. 28, as 80,000 pumped up Democrats streamed into Denver's Mile High Stadium to cheer Barack Obama's acceptance of their party's presidential nomination, a lone Canadian politician strolled the streets of Boulder, about 50 km away from the action. Lawrence Cannon, Prime Minister Stephen Harper's transport minister at the time and now his foreign minister, was in Colorado to make contact with Obama's team, but opted against attending the big show that night. Even on a solitary walk, though, he encountered the man of the hour at every turn. Happening upon a movie theatre that was screening a live feed of Obama's speech, Cannon tried to get in, but the place was sold out. So he ducked into a restaurant. "There were about 75 people eating," he recalls. "Nobody was talking. They were all glued to the television set."

Wandering unnoticed on the fringes of a historic American political moment—it's a plausible image of what's in store for the Harper government in Obama-obsessed America. What are their chances of making Canada's presence felt in a transforming Washington, D.C.? Competition for a fragment of Obama's attention is fierce. Not only does he come to power lugging enormous domestic expectations, he's also the focus of unprecedented world attention. He has an economic crisis to wrestle into submission, and a war to wind down in Iraq. Still, several key Harper ministers spoke optimistically to *Maclean's* about their bid to be heard, on everything from climate change to Afghanistan to aid for the auto industry. "We're pretty confident," said Industry Minister Tony Clement, "that there will be an openness to continental solutions."

The first concerted attempt from the Harper government to crack Obama's charmed circle came at that landmark Democratic convention in Colorado. Three ministers—Cannon, Clement, and Peter Van Loan, then government House leader, now public safety minister—attended as guests of the National Democratic Institute, the Democrats' international affairs organization. Cannon and Clement both declined to say which Obama-linked figures they met with, saying the discussions were private. However, *Maclean's* has learned that among the key players they gained exposure to through the NDI were Washington lawyer Greg Craig, who was named Obama's White House counsel this week, and Anthony Lake, an Obama foreign policy adviser who was former president Bill Clinton's national security adviser.

Clement boasts that the Tories (who hedged their bets by also reaching out to Republican nominee John McCain's camp last summer) were "aggressive" and "prescient" in their courting of Obama's coterie. Their efforts to introduce themselves, and a Canadian perspective, followed months of diplomatic slogging, orchestrated largely by Canada's embassy in Washington, to connect with the teams of all of the possible next presidents, including, of course, Obama's. Now those nascent relationships will begin to be tested against real issues. And Harper has chosen an unexpectedly ambitious idea—a shared trading system for greenhouse gas emissions—as his opening bid to grab the incoming administration's policy imagination.

The file makes Jim Prentice, the new environment minister, one of the Harper government's most important envoys to the Obama White House. That's because, after three years of aligning his policies with a George W. Bush administration that was doing as little as possible on global warming, Harper must now keep step with Obama's activism. In both cases, the Tory line goes, Canada had little choice. "We occupy the largest free-market energy system in the world, us and the United States," Prentice said. "It would be hard to imagine a policy framework between us and the United States that would be discordant."

For the moment, Prentice can do little more than wait while his officials analyze Obama's campaign rhetoric and scrutinize signals coming from the Democratic transition team. They've identified three figures close to Obama who will probably be big players on energy and climate change. Robert Sussman was the second-in-command in Bill Clinton's Environmental Protection Agency. Todd Stern was the senior White House negotiator for the Kyoto accord. But the key player seems to be John Podesta, who was Clinton's last chief of staff, and is one of the Obama transition team's three leaders.

Podesta is said to covet an "energy czar" role, if Obama creates one—a new White House position along the lines of the national security adviser. He is the driving force behind the Center for American Progress, where Sussman and Stern also work. The highly influential centre-left think tank advocates bringing energy and environmental policy together under the aegis of a new "National Energy Council."

The council's rough Canadian counterpart will be the Harper cabinet's environment and energy security committee, whose key players are Prentice, rookie Natural Resources Minister Lisa Raitt, and the committee's chairman, Transport Minister John Baird.

"We're very much at a crossroads," Prentice said of energy and environmental issues. He named three factors driving decisions: the continuing global economic crisis, the "extraordinarily ambitious" Obama environmental agenda, and the looming Copenhagen conference of December 2009, that will seek global consensus on a post-Kyoto agenda for the fight against climate change.

The Harper government's goal is to be part of a North American energy market and a carbon cap-and-trade mechanism. Versions of the concept featured in both Harper's and Obama's fall campaign platforms. Companies would face limits on how much carbon dioxide they are allowed to pump out, but they could buy the right to emit more—and thus burn more fossil fuels—from firms willing to sell their own emissions credits.

Obama firmed up his commitment to the concept this week, telling a bipartisan summit of state governors in a video message that his leadership on combating climate change "will start with a federal cap and trade system." He also repeated his campaign pledge to invest $15 billion a year in solar, wind and other clean energy sources. Some insiders expect his earliest emphasis to be on those investments in technology and "green collar jobs," rather than pushing ahead fast with emissions caps that would have the effect of boosting the cost of burning fossil fuels as the economy slumps.



ALIGNED WITH BUSH on the environment, Harper must now get in step with Obama

ON CLIMATE CHANGE: 'IT WOULD BE HARD TO IMAGINE A POLICY BETWEEN US AND THE U.S. THAT WOULD BE DISCORDANT,' SAYS PRENTICE

Cutting a deal with Obama would win Harper, in one stroke, all the environmental credibility he has so far failed to establish. That potential payoff is big enough for him to risk a bruising battle with the Tory government in his home province. The day after Harper's surprise floating of the proposal for a Canada-U.S. emissions pact, Alberta Premier Ed Stelmach promised to fight the plan "tooth and nail." He demanded a seat for Alberta at the negotiating table in any bilateral negotiations. Prentice committed to little beyond "consulting" with the provinces. Alberta Environment Minister Rob Renner doesn't reject cap-and-trade outright—as long as it isn't imposed on his province. "In some jurisdictions," Renner told *Maclean's*, "cap and trade may well be an opportunity for them to tackle their problem."

The Alberta government's policy is to try to achieve any emissions cuts solely through implementing new technology. Stelmach rejects Harper's federal targets, which would cut emissions by 20 per cent from 2006 levels by 2020. Alberta's own plan delays any reductions until 2020, then trims them just 14 per cent from 2005 levels by 2050. That gap between Alberta's premier and the Albertan Prime Minister might lead to a nasty constitutional clash over environmental regulation of natural resources, even without the complicating factor of a possible Canada-U.S. climate change accord.

In any case, there are urgent issues that must be settled long before any bilateral greenhouse gas arrangement is hammered out. Arguably most pressing: the fate of the struggling North American auto industry, the top file on Clement's desk. He plans to travel to Washington and Detroit in the coming days to "gather information" from politicians and auto industry executives. But he has been cautious—just as Harper and Finance Minister Jim Flaherty have been—not to commit Canada to a multi-billion-dollar bailout package to parallel the widely expected U.S. government lifeline to General Motors, Chrysler and Ford.

But the Conservatives can't go on sitting on the fence about the auto industry's future much longer. Obama has said he favours a support package, and U.S. Senate Democrats are proposing $25 billion in loans to the beleaguered Big Three. The Bush administration, however, opposes the scheme, since it would tap the $700 billion fund the White House says was meant to strengthen financial markets, not salvage money-losing manufacturers. As that high-stakes struggle unfolds in Washington, the wait-and-see approach in Ottawa looks oddly detached. A U.S. deal would seek guarantees for American employment. Where would that leave the roughly 125,000 Canadians who work at assembly plants and parts manufacturers, the majority relying on the Detroit automakers for their jobs?

Clement's success or failure in finding a way to fit Canada into a U.S. auto bailout picture is shaping up as the first crucial test of the Harper government's ability to work in the new Washington. Perhaps surprisingly, given the ideological common ground shared

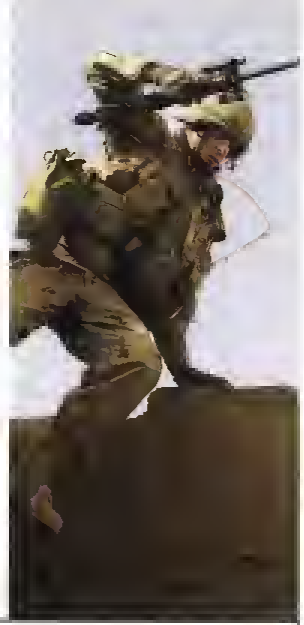
PHOTOGRAPH BY YVONNE BERG, JASON REED/REUTERS

by Canadian Conservatives and U S Republicans, Clement predicts Bush's exit will make Canada's work easier He calls Obama "an internationalist," more worried about good relations with other countries than his predecessor "He has set himself apart from the Bush administration in that regard," Clement said, "and that bodes well for Canada."

If Obama looks promising for Canada, the Democratic dominated Congress has potential to be more problematic Canada U S friction is just as likely to start on Capitol Hill as in the White House Past irritants like the law requiring passports to cross the border, as well as various trade squabbles, have begun with lawmakers rather than presidents When the 111th Congress meets for the first time on Jan 6, at least eight new senators and more than 50 rookie members of the House of Representatives will take their seats for the first time, Canadian diplomats aim to meet with all the newcomers within a week of their arrival in Washington.

There will be events at the imposing Canadian Embassy on Pennsylvania Avenue, a stone's throw from the Capitol Building's famous dome, and joint functions put on with the Northern Border Caucus and the Friends of Canada Caucus Canadian diplomats will be focused on getting to know not just the members, but also their staffers, who do much of the heavy lifting on policy

Some observers fear that the new Congress will tilt toward protectionism, as more Democrats arrive during an economic downturn As well, Canada is losing two key allies in the House upstate New York Republicans Jim Walsh and Tom Reynolds, who are both retiring They were leaders on Canada-U S border issues, working to smooth the flow of goods and people between the two countries On the other hand, Duncan Hunter, a persistent "Buy American" advocate, who wielded considerable power as the ranking Republican on the House armed services committee, is also retiring Canadian Embassy officials had been fighting his initiatives for years, arguing he failed to recognize the integration of the North American defence industry



HARPER SENT THREE MINISTERS TO THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION. IT WAS 'PRESCIENT' TO COURT OBAMA, SAYS ONE.

Trying to influence Congress represents the grunt work of Canada U S relations At the opposite extreme are summit meetings of presidents and prime ministers, sometimes as glitzy as Brian Mulroney and Ronald Reagan together in tuxes, sometimes as laid back as Jean Chrétien and Bill Clinton in golf attire. Failing to deliver that sort of symbolism can hurt a PM's claim to cachet with a president. When George W. Bush was elected, he broke with the tradition, stretching back to Franklin Roosevelt, of making Canada his first visit abroad--sparking heated debate about Canada's lost clout in Washington Harper's top officials are emphasizing that he is focused on substance, not on the symbolism of when or where he first meets Obama That could well be a prudent exercise in lowering expectations

Yet there can be no doubt that Canadians will be watching for any sign of a natural rapport—or failure to hit it off—between Harper and Obama. Worried Tories grasp at potential shared perspectives, frequently pointing out, for instance, that the two leaders are close in age (Harper is 49, while Obama is 47) But the more obvious questions swirl around their ideological differences Harper's roots are hard-core conservative, Obama was among the most liberal U S senators Still, the president elect has lately tacked to the centre, and Harper recently asked his party, at its policy convention in Winnipeg, to be pragmatic, "not unrealistic or ideological"

OTTAWA INSISTS it will not be swayed should Obama ask Canada to rethink our planned 2011 exit from Afghanistan

Assuming they don't let political convictions get in the way, Harper and Obama will have plenty to talk about. Beyond the pressing matter of the auto sector's future, and Harper's ambitions for partnership on climate change, the relationship could hinge on a handful of issues Late last year, a frustrated Harper told *Maclean's* the Bush administration wasn't very open to Canada's pleas for rethinking post-9/11 security regulations that have "thickened" the Canada-U S border, and he held out hope the next president would be more open to streamlining rules that hamper trade and travel

As for what Obama might want from Canada, his promise to shift U S military efforts from Iraq to Afghanistan suggests one obvious possibility He'll want more support from U S allies But what would happen if Obama asked Harper to rethink his election promise to pull Canadian troops out of Afghanistan in 2011? Cannon admitted it's possible that request will come from the new administration, but he said the withdrawal date is not up for negotiation "The new U S position will not change our position. We've made that clear," he said. "But let's also make it clear that we're in there until 2011 There's not going to be any slack. Our commitment is a whole, total, full-court press."

The auto sector and Afghanistan, border irritants and cross border emissions trading—the agenda is packed The question is whether those early political contacts will mature into real working relationships, whether the diplomatic groundwork pays off in workaday access Although they are downplaying expectations for Harper's visible relationship with Obama, the Prime Minister's aides are undoubtedly hoping for a convincing show of that valuable intangible: personal rapport Failing that, Conservatives need to work hard to deliver the next best thing in Canada-U S relations: political results M

With Luiza Ch. Savage and Nicholas Köhler

FOR THE RECORD

SIXTY IS THE NEW 30 IN THE LIBERAL PARTY

"Somebody said, 'How do you feel about the age issue?' and I said 'When I get back from my nap I'll let you know.' I think it's entirely a function of attitude, the capacity to develop new ideas and the ability to cope with what change is doing to the country and the party"—Bob Rae, 60, describes why someone of his vintage should lead the federal Liberal party through its vaunted generational change

FINNBARR O REILLY/REUTERS



*TD Insurance is a trade-mark of The Toronto-Dominion Bank used under license All products may not be offered in all provinces.

THE BLOC PARTIES ON

They're back—with a whole new list of outlandish demands



DUCEPPE will continue to prop up the Tories—as long as they give him what he asks for

PAUL CHIASSON/CP

BY MARTIN PATRIQUIN • There is a certain delight in being a Bloquiste these days. Having been written off yet again this fall by Quebec's nattering punditocracy, and despite a listless early campaign performance, the party returns to Parliament this week nearly as big and powerful as before the election. Gilles Duceppe has sprung back from near death almost as many times as Quebec Premier (and noted turnaround artist) Jean Charest, though in the current incarnation, the Bloc is less a sovereignist party than an escape valve for the nervous Quebec vote. Without a referendum in the province's near future, and with the party never actually having to govern, supporting the Bloc remains almost consequence-free for Quebecers.

Still, the party's horizons are muddied. Though it managed to stave off the attempted Conservative swarm of Quebec, the Bloc's share of the popular vote decreased by four percentage points—the second lowest showing in its history. In the absence of the nationalist furor that brought it into being—support for sovereignty is at its lowest ebb in nearly four decades—the Bloc has come to rely on the shortcomings of its adversaries, and on short-term manoeuvring, for its continued survival.

This time around, Harper's missteps on arts funding and juvenile justice, in which the Prime Minister proposed letting judges send young violent offenders to adult prisons, were a gift to Duceppe. "Before the election, people were ready to vote for Stephen Harper's Conservatives, ready to participate in government, ready to move onto other things," says Léger Marketing president Jean-Marc Leger. "In the end, though, the Bloc didn't win, the Conservatives lost."

The Bloc, which also benefited enormously from the split in the federalist vote, returns to Parliament more or less intact, and all the more entrenched. The party boasts both the oldest MP on the Hill, Christian Ouellet, at 74, and the longest-serving MP, Louis Plamondon. Gilles Duceppe is by far the most experienced party leader, and the only one who is also a grandfather. Its MPs are among the most prolific committee members in Ottawa, and are instrumental in the forming of policy affecting Canadians beyond Quebec's borders.

And once again, Gilles Duceppe returns to Parliament as resident kingmaker. The Tory minority is thought safe from toppling until at least next May, when the Liberals hold their leadership convention. After that, the Bloc's 49 seats will give it considerable sway. As with the last two budgets, the Tories will likely look to the Bloc to prop up its government. Duceppe has already named his price for co-operating, along with a bevy of government initiatives to see Quebec (and, by extension, the rest of the country) through the economic crisis, including aid for forestry and manufacturing sectors and retraining programs for elderly workers, the Bloc is demanding Harper reverse the shelving of Quebec's economic development grants, as well as the pre-election cuts to arts funding. (On the latter, at least, Harper has so far refused to budge.)

Duceppe will also continue to harp on Canada's "fiscal imbalance," which it defines as an "intrusion in the jurisdictions of Quebec and the provinces." (Reading much of the Bloc's literature, one might get the impression that Quebec has already separated.)

With all its demands, some of which the Tories will no doubt acquiesce to, it may seem odd that the Bloc's bid to remain relevant through Canada's 40th parliamentary session will effectively hinge on proving, in the words of one senior Bloc MP, that "federalism doesn't work" and that Canada "is a dead end." The party will do so largely by introducing Quebec-centric bills that don't have a chance of passing.

In 2007, for example, the Bloc's Pauline Picard introduced Bill C-482, a private member's bill to compel the federal government "to undertake not to obstruct the application of the Charter of the French Language in Quebec"—effectively making federal and financial institutions within Quebec French-only. An affront to Canada's Official Languages Act, the bill was handily beaten in the House of Commons. Which was exactly the point.



THE NEW 2009 FORD EDGE

Know what you're getting into. A well-tuned machine that sips fuel, wields 265 hp, is available from $34K and sports head-turning good looks. Consider yourself warned.

34MPG 8.4L/100KM HWY
22MPG - 12.6L/100KM CITY

Ford powered by you

Fuel Consumption ratings are based on Transport Canada approved test methods and relate to the Edge FWD. Actual fuel consumption may vary based on road conditions, vehicle loading and driving habits.

ford.ca

"We are going to show that over the years, no matter what party is in power, there is a limit to what Quebec can do [within Canada]," said Bloc MP Christiane Gagnon. "We are always hitting a wall."

If this is the case, the Bloc will be purposefully running into many walls in the next parliamentary session. Along with Bill C-482, which it plans on reintroducing shortly after Parliament reconvenes, the party will put forward motions demanding, among other measures, the end of official multiculturalism in Quebec, the establishment of a Quebec-only body governing the province's radio and television concerns, and a reorganization of Telefilm Canada's funding structure so that Quebec would control its own grant money.

EVEN WHEN its demands aren't met, the Bloc still wins



THEY RELY ON THE MISSTEPS OF OTHERS FOR THEIR SUCCESS

Duceppe will haunt the Harper government over its cuts to cultural spending, and has pledged to have *la nation québécoise* recognized in the Canadian Constitution, which he said would be a "further step toward sovereignty."

The strategy of asking for everything under the sun is "a win-win situation for the Bloc," according to Bloc parliamentary leader Pierre Paquette. "If a motion is refused, it shows the system doesn't work, and if it is accepted, it gives more power to Quebec," Paquette said. And whenever the government does heed Quebec's demands, as it did to the tune of $3.3 billion in transfer payments in the last federal budget, it is seen as the feds caving in once again to Canada's *bête noire*. "It infuriates a lot of people in the rest of the country," Paquette said, not without a hint of glee.

The fate of Gilles Duceppe, meanwhile, is a question few in his party wish to parse. His tenure became enough of a campaign issue that the Bloc leader made a spectacle of pledging to stay on for at least another term. Still, as a 61-year-old veteran of seven federal elections, five of them as leader, he isn't long for retirement—as well as a $136,000-a-year indexed federal pension were he to retire in January 2009, according to the Canadian Taxpayers Foundation.

Chief among the names bandied about as a potential successor is Paquette himself. A former secretary general of the CSN, Quebec's second-largest union group, Paquette is hugely influential within the party and, along with Duceppe, is largely responsible for its leftward sway over the last decade. And like Duceppe, who occasionally refers to federalist MPs from Quebec as "Uncle Toms," Paquette is no stranger to overheated rhetoric. One of his favourite speeches, which he notably delivered to the CSN's anglophone section in 1994, equated the experience of French Quebecers in Canada to that of black South Africans during apartheid. (Paquette stands by the comparison today, though says he was referring to democratic struggle in general.)

Paquette has previously expressed interest in the job. He was one of a handful of Bloc MPs to put his name forward following Duceppe's aborted Parti Québécois leadership bid last year (Duceppe left the Bloc to court the Péquistes only to return 48 hours later, after being rebuffed by current leader Pauline Marois.) "I was very happy to have him back," Paquette says today. "I hope Gilles Duceppe stays as leader for as long as possible."

Should he do so, Duceppe will continue to rely on the missteps of his opponents for electoral success. The federal government, Leger notes, "has given a lot of ammunition to the BQ over the years." The Bloc owes its existence to the failure of Meech Lake, and is the main beneficiary of Quebec's unease with the Clarity Act of 1999, as well as the sponsorship scandal and, most recently, the Conservatives' culture cuts and justice policy. "These are all things that feed the 'Quebec difference,'" says Leger.

Rhetoric and outlandish demands are part of the Bloc's raison d'être, and the party will not be any quieter this time around. For federalists, the key to neutralizing the Bloc seems to lie in running an effective, scandal-free administration, and a error-free election campaign. That the Bloc continues to exist shows this might be too much to ask. M

PETER MCCABE/CP

BLAME CANADA

A new U.S. Army text says our border is no safer than Mexico's

BY JOHN GEDDES • Ever since the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, the Canadian government has struggled to overcome American suspicions that Canada is a haven for terrorists. None of the 9/11 hijackers entered the U.S. from Canada, but that hasn't prevented what Prime Minister Stephen Harper calls a "thickening" of the Canada-U.S. border. The U.S. government has imposed layer after layer of new security regulations, with the side effect of slowing legitimate trade and travel.

It has now been seven years since the attack, yet fears about the Canadian border don't appear to be easing. An updated border-security doctrine being taught this fall at the elite Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, Pa., shows that our border is still regarded suspiciously. The new version of the institute's core textbook—required reading for future colonels and generals—outlines serious worries about the Mexican border, then goes on to make this comparison: "The threat along the northern border, while far less publicized, is nevertheless cause for concern—perhaps equal concern, perhaps greater."

Asked why the Canadian border is still causing the U.S. Army such anxiety, Bert Tussing, a national security professor at the institute who wrote the chapter, repeats a familiar argument. He says that Canada's immigration and refugee rules make our country more vulnerable than the U.S. to exploitation by foreign terrorists. But his main source for this view is somewhat surprising. "The voices crying loudest on this," he told *Maclean's*, "were not from the U.S., but from Canada."

In particular, Tussing cites reports on terrorist cells in Canada from the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, a Canadian Senate committee, and a Royal Military College of Canada professor. Tussing says it wasn't a matter of inculcating rising-star army officers with American biases about Canada when he wrote the chapter. He merely assumed that the Canadian experts know their stuff. M

WE'RE INVESTING $1.15 BILLION IN YOUR IDEAS

Introducing Ontario's Next Generation Of Jobs Fund.

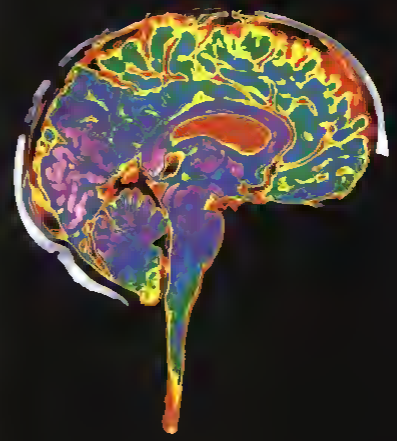
From the BlackBerry wireless revolution to groundbreaking stem cell research, innovation and imagination are the cornerstones of Ontario's diverse and growing economy.

The province of Ontario is introducing an exciting new initiative to help ensure the continued growth of the industries that will shape our future.

The Ontario Next Generation Of Jobs Fund is a five-year $1.15 billion strategy designed to assist innovative and environmentally proactive companies working in fields as diverse as biotechnology, sustainable energy, digital media and health sciences.

For companies prepared to advance a project over $25 million or create and/or retain 100 high value jobs within five years for Ontarians, the Next Generation Of Jobs Fund represents a unique opportunity to develop new products and new markets. Companies are guaranteed a decision within 45 days of submitting a complete proposal.

Applications for the Next Generation Of Jobs Fund are being accepted now. For more information on the application process and eligibility, please visit nextgenjobs.ca



Ontario
1-800-818-8701

Ontario Paid for by the Government of Ontario.



A $250,000 plan to fight stinky farms

BY MICHAEL FRISCOLANTI • Canadians love bacon—as long as the pigpen is nowhere near their noses. Or their kitchens.

Across the country, as new housing developments collide with traditional family farms, neighbours are complaining more than ever about the manure stench next door. In Ontario alone, more than half of all beefs filed with the provincial agriculture ministry are related to one thing: barnyard odours. "The urban ites are moving into the countryside and they demand clean, pristine air," says John Feddes, an agriculture professor at the University of Alberta. "But you can't have farms with zero odour. That's impossible—unless you train pigs to flush toilets."

Ottawa is working on a more realistic solution. Over the next three years, its Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada Department plans to spend $250,000 to create an "odour indicator"—a scientific measuring stick designed to help farmers reduce the reek. "There is more and more pressure to address the odour issue," says Daniel Masse, the project coordinator. "But there is no perfect answer."

Indeed. At least 168 odour-producing compounds have been linked to livestock aromas, and although it is possible to electronically measure the existence of each compound, the smell itself is completely subjective. Everyone's nasal cavity is a built a bit differently, and what is revolting to one person may be soothing to another.



THE FEDS WILL spend three years creating a smell-o-meter

The goal of this latest project is to provide some level of proof that certain anti-odour strategies are actually working. For years now, farmers have adopted numerous funk-fighting techniques, from chemically altering cow dung to planting large trees around the property. But there is no formula that says one particular approach reduces odour by a certain per cent.

Such an indicator won't kill every stench (or teach pigs to flush). But at the very least, farmers will be able to show their angry neighbours that the smell in the air is not nearly as nasty as it could be. And if homeowners still want to complain, they can always move back to the city. It never stinks there. M

Bazaar 'steal' almost lands buyer in jail

BY MICHAEL FRISCOLANTI • No wonder Saskatchewan has the highest crime rate in the country. While countless drug dealers, car thieves and cold-blooded murderers roam the streets unpunished, some provincial prosecutors have decided to crack down on people like Nicole Marchand—whose only offence was shopping at a garage sale.

Two summers ago, the Prince Albert woman paid $20 for a used digital camera she found at a neighbourhood bazaar (Marchand also bought three "Last Supper" paintings and a few pairs of pants). The price tag was such a steal, she later testified, that she "grabbed it" before anyone else had the chance.



MARCHAND had no idea her $20 camera was stolen property

Later that August, however, Marchand was short of money and desperate for groceries. So she pawned her new camera and its red carrying case, promising the broker behind the counter that she would buy it back as soon as she mustered up enough cash.

In the meantime, though, police officers conducting a routine check of local pawnshops discovered that the camera had been snatched during a home invasion a few weeks before the yard sale. Marchand was promptly charged with possession of stolen property and hauled into court, where she faced a possible two-year jail sentence. Simply put, the Crown claimed that the defendant should have known her bargain-basement purchase was the proceeds of crime. And if not, she should have at least been suspicious enough to ask where the camera came from before handing over her $20 bill.

"It's ridiculous," says her court-appointed lawyer, Peter Burns. "It's obvious that this trial should not have taken place."

The judge agreed. After a half-day of testimony, Justice Stephen Carter ruled that Marchand did nothing illegal. He also highlighted one important fact that prosecutors seemed to overlook (or at least ignore) when police seized the camera from the pawnshop, the memory card still contained Marchand's photographs of her grandchildren. "If she was pawning a camera she suspected was stolen," the judge asked, "why leave her personal photos on it?" M

Catholics flee Liberals in droves

BY KATE LUNAU • As Canada's once-mighty Liberals consider their future, they might be advised to visit a local church—and not just to pray for the party. The religious vote, it seems, played a major role in their recent election defeat. According to new data from Angus Reid Strategies provided exclusively to *Maclean's*, Catholics—who make up 44 per cent of Canada's population and have preferred the Liberals for decades—are flocking to the Conservatives.

Catholic voters back parties that are community-minded, says Andrew Grenville, Angus Reid's chief research officer. And in 2006, for the first time, they shifted their support to the Tories. This year's results confirm the trend: outside Quebec, 49 per cent of Catholics who attend church weekly voted Conservative, compared to just 38 per cent in 2004. Within Quebec, where upwards of 80 per cent of the population identifies as Catholic, the switch away from the Liberals is even more striking. In 2008, just 22 per cent of Quebec Catholics voted Liberal, compared to 56 per cent in 2004. "Looks like we have a new status quo," Grenville says.

It's not just Catholics who've had a change of heart. Protestants, who make up 30 per cent of the population, tend to split their vote between the two major parties, but over the last four years, there's been a big shift toward the Tories. In 2008, 64 per cent of church-going Protestants outside of Quebec chose the Conservatives, compared to 51 per cent in 2004. Voters who attend so-called conservative churches (such as Baptist, Mennonite, and Stephen Harper's own Christian and Missionary Alliance) prefer the Tories in even greater numbers, a whopping three-quarters of them voted Conservative this year.



CATHOLICS have always voted Liberal, until recently

What does it mean? "The Liberals have alienated their base, which shows how weak their support really is," Grenville says, adding that he isn't very optimistic about the party's immediate future. "I can't see Bob Rae or Michael Ignatieff appealing to that vote either, which is in part why their prospects aren't too bright." M

PHOTOGRAPHY BY IAN BARRIE II

PLEASE GO AWAY

Why did the Foreign Affairs Department rebuff a witness in the Kazemi affair?

BY MICHAEL PETROU • Peter MacKay's vow to seek justice for a tortured and murdered Canadian was decisive and explicitly clear. "Mark my words," he said as minister of foreign affairs in June 2006. "This individual is on notice. If there is any way Canada can bring this person to justice, we'll do it."

The individual supposedly on notice was Saeed Mortazavi, the prosecutor general of Tehran. Mortazavi supervised and may have taken part in the violent interrogations of Canadian Zahra Kazemi, who, in 2003, was arrested for taking photographs of a vigil outside Tehran's Evin prison, where most Iranian political prisoners are held. She was tortured and brutally raped while in custody, and died of her injuries. No one in Iran has ever been convicted for the murder. But upon hearing that Mortazavi would be part of Iran's delegation to the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva, MacKay asked German authorities to arrest Mortazavi if he stopped in Germany. Prime Minister Stephen Harper said Canada had requested Mortazavi be detained so he could be prosecuted for "crimes against humanity."

The legal foundation for MacKay's request was solid. Our Criminal Code allows Canadian courts to prosecute torturers if the torture happened outside Canada. And countries that have ratified the UN Convention Against Torture must prosecute or extradite suspected torturers on their soil. But Harper and MacKay's rhetoric was empty. An extradition request requires a case against the accused individual, and Canada hadn't prepared one. A government spokesman was soon backpedalling on the issue of extradition and admitted Ottawa didn't have evidence to convict Mortazavi. But Harper tried to remain resolute. "We want to make it absolutely clear that the government of Canada has not dropped this matter," he said.

One would think, then, that Ottawa would have been relieved by what transpired at Canada's embassy in Ankara, Turkey, six months later.

An Iranian dissident by the name of Behnam Vafaseresht met with Canadian Embassy officials to discuss Kazemi's death. Vafaseresht had been arrested in January 2003 and charged with "acting against national security" because of his blogs and Internet postings about Iran's pro-democracy student movement. He was locked up in section 209 of Evin prison. Five months later, in the midst of a hunger strike, Vafaseresht heard the voice of a woman yelling and screaming while men swore and insulted her during an interrogation. "Don't push me! What have I done?" she said. This went on for two more nights. By the third night, the woman was begging and beseeching in a loud voice, rather than yelling. "*Hajj Agha*," Vafaseresht heard her say, using a respectful honorific for a mullah or other leader, "I didn't do that."

By this time, Vafaseresht had suffered so much as a result of his hunger strike that he was brought to the medical ward of section 209. A doctor named Akbari was taking his blood pressure when Vafaseresht saw four men, two of whom were holding batons, drag a woman wrapped in a blanket into the next room. Vafaseresht recognized three of the men. One was Saeed Mortazavi, the other two were employees of the Intelligence Ministry. The blanket was covered in blood. Akbari left Vafaseresht alone for 15 minutes while he went next door. Vafaseresht could hear the four men arguing amongst themselves. "Why did you do it?" "I didn't do anything." "I didn't hit her that hard." They were anxious while Akbari checked the woman's vital signs.

When Mortazavi became aware of Vafaseresht's presence, he and one of the Intelligence Ministry officials attacked him, kicking and punching him before ordering that he be taken back to his cell. He was blindfolded but was able to peer beneath the cloth and see the file belonging to the battered woman. It was labelled "Zahra Ziba Kazemi." On his way back to the cell, Vafaseresht looked down and saw that the floor where Kazemi had been dragged was also smeared with blood. Thirty minutes later he heard the sirens of an ambulance leaving the prison. Over the next week, he was interrogated four times about what he had seen. He told his questioners only that he thought someone had gotten sick and had been taken to the medical ward.

By June 2006, Vafaseresht had been released from Evin, and legally travelled to Turkey. He met with Graeme McIntyre, a diplomat at Canada's embassy in Ankara, and told him everything he had seen and heard. Vafaseresht said he wanted to publicize this information but needed Canada's assurance that he and his family, who were still in Iran, would be helped to leave Iran and given asylum elsewhere. McIntyre, according to Vafaseresht, said he could give Vafaseresht's story to the media but Canada would not help Vafaseresht or his family find refuge outside Iran. (McIntyre, now at Canada's representative office in Ramallah, in the Palestinian Authority, referred *Maclean's* requests for an interview to a spokesman at Foreign Affairs, who would not confirm or deny that any meetings took place.)

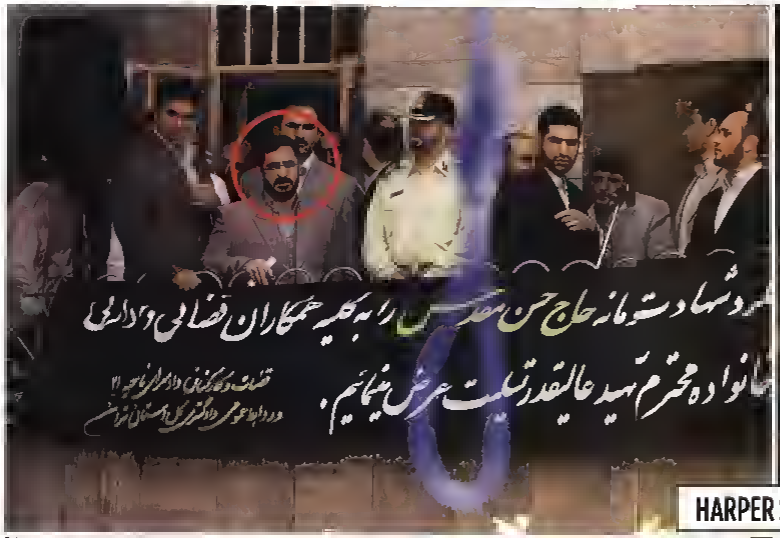
Vafaseresht, knowing that publicizing what he had seen while still living in Iran would endanger his life and his family, refused to co-operate. He returned to Iran and continued to agitate against the government there. The following summer, in 2007, a warrant was issued for his arrest and he fled to Turkey. His wife and son followed him soon after. Vafaseresht told *Maclean's* that he twice met with McIntyre in Ankara. "At this time I just wanted the situation exposed. I was not expecting any help from the Canadian Embassy," Vafaseresht said in a written statement for *Maclean's* that has been translated from Farsi. Vafaseresht said he told McIntyre he was willing to testify in court about everything he had seen and heard. But McIntyre, according to Vafaseresht, said the Canadian government was not interested in his help.

Vafaseresht, a man who surely would have been a valuable witness and source of information for any legal case Canada might compile against Saeed Mortazavi, hasn't been in touch with any Canadian diplomats or government officials since. It's a stunning oversight, if one assumes that Stephen Harper was sincere when he said that Canada had not "dropped" the matter of Kazemi's murder. But the available evidence suggests that Canada still isn't serious about building a case against Mortazavi. *Maclean's* interviewed Shahram Azam, a former staff physician in Iran's Defence Ministry, who examined Kazemi four days after her arrest and found evidence of torture. Azam, who now lives in Canada and is willing to testify against Mortazavi, says no one from the Canadian government has contacted him about Kazemi since he arrived more than three years ago. Rodney Moore, a spokesman at Foreign Affairs, said that Canada did not consider the Kazemi case resolved but could not confirm if there is an ongoing investigation or extradition request, nor could a spokesperson for the Department of Justice.

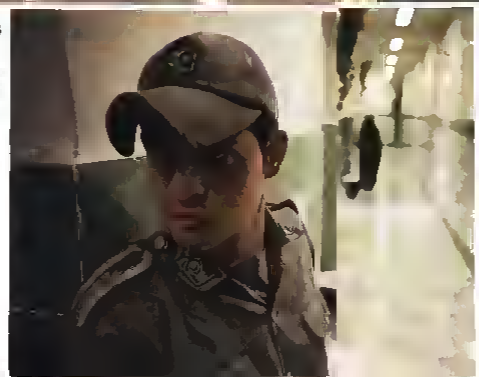
Vafaseresht and his wife, Maryam Miadfar, along with their seven-year-old son Radmehr, have meanwhile moved to Germany. They are refugees and are not permitted to work, but must take German language classes. They are trying to make a fresh start, at the age of 37. They say they have not forgotten Zahra Kazemi, and many others who suffered at the hands of Saeed Mortazavi.

"We have a good position here. We don't need anything from the Canadian government," Miadfar said in an interview with *Maclean's*. "But Behnam thinks he has a duty to the truth. He wants to reveal what happens in Iran and the kinds of things Mortazavi does in prison. Everything did not just happen to Zahra Kazemi, but to everyone in prison. There are a lot of prisoners. Nobody knows their names." M

KAZEMI DIED after being tortured, but Canadian authorities haven't seemed interested in first-hand information about her death



PROSECUTOR GENERAL Mortazavi (top, circled), a guard in Tehran's Evin prison in 2006





HARPER SAID CANADA WAS READY TO PROSECUTE—SO WHY NOT BUILD A CASE?

MORTEZA NIKOUBAZL/REUTERS BEHROUZ MEHRI/GETTY



CALIFORNIANS protesting against Proposition 8, which banned same-sex marriage

WHEN BALLOTS GET STUFFED

There's a lot more to vote on in American elections than just the candidates

BY LUIZA CH SAVAGE • It was a bittersweet election for liberal-leaning voters in California. Barack Obama took the White House and Democrats expanded control of both houses of Congress. But after a bitter fight, voters also narrowly passed a ban on same-sex marriage that overturned a state court ruling in May that had seen more than 11,000 gay and lesbian couples rush to tie the knot. There was even the uncomfortable question of whether the same African-American voters who flocked to elect Obama were otherwise socially conservative and helped tip the scales against gay marriage.

The California result seemed to be a replay of the past decade, in which conservatives were able to circumvent legislatures and to advance their agenda by using the machinery of direct democracy. There are 24 states that allow citizens to put measures to a vote by collecting sufficient numbers of signatures on petitions. Such ballot measures on cultural wedge issues have helped draw conservative voters to the polls. Some activists have argued that George W. Bush owed his re-election in 2004 to an anti-gay marriage measure on the ballot in Ohio—the state that clinched his re-election.

But this election was different. The California gay marriage ban turned out to be a high-profile exception in a year that saw widespread successes for liberal causes. There were 153 initiatives on U.S. ballots this time, of which 61 came from citizens. According to the Ballot Initiative Strategy Center (BISC), a group that promotes liberal ballot initiatives, 26 citizens' measures could be classified as conservative, and only six passed. Meanwhile, voters passed a variety of progressive measures—from new money for renewable energy in Missouri to expanding state health care for children in Montana, allowing stem cell research in Michigan, decriminalizing small amounts of medical marijuana in Massachusetts, permitting "death with dignity" assisted suicide in Washington state, and sanctioning paid sick leave in Milwaukee, Wis., and in California giving calves, pregnant pigs, and egg-laying hens enough living space to turn around freely, lie down, stand up, and fully extend their limbs. Voters also rejected measures that would have toughened abortion laws in California and South Dakota, and voted down a particularly stringent measure in Colorado that would have bestowed legal personhood onto fertilized eggs.

Several conservative measures did pass: a ban on adoption by unmarried couples, including same-sex couples, in Arkansas; bans on gay marriage in California, Florida and Arizona, and Nebraskans voted to overturn affirmative action programs. But more were defeated. Coloradans rejected a ban on affirmative action. Massachusetts voters rejected a measure that would have eliminated the state income tax; voters in North Dakota and Oregon voted against tax cuts, and voters in a New Hampshire city rejected a revenue cap on government spending (while those in another approved it).

"Despite California, there were tremendous victories for progressives, winning important initiatives of our own and beating back right-wing-backed initiatives across the country," says Kristina Wilfore, the BISC executive director. It didn't happen by accident. Labour unions and other advocacy organizations had been pushing for years to better understand and use the ballot process. Wilfore's group was created a decade ago to help lay the groundwork for such victories, including identifying potentially successful issues through targeted opinion polling and the education of local activists in using the ballot process.

The ballot process can be expensive and risky. If a measure fails, lawmakers may be reluctant to embrace the issue in the future for fear of public backlash. The cost of winning ballot initiatives depends on the issue, the size of the state and the size of the media market—anywhere from half a million dollars to more than US$60 million spent by both sides in the California gay marriage fight.

In some cases, wedge-issue politics can backfire. In Colorado, for example, the state Right to Life group supported a "personhood initiative" that defined "the term 'person' to include any human from the moment of fertilization." The position was considered so extreme that it led to a rift among anti-abortion groups over whether it would do more harm than good to their cause, and a conservative congresswoman who backed it lost her seat. It was defeated three to one. However, its defeat has sparked the creation of a new group, Personhood USA, dedicated to putting similar initiatives on other ballots.

Regardless of which issues dominate in a given year, there is strong evidence that states that allow ballot initiatives have higher voter turnout, says Daniel Smith, a political scientist at the University of Florida in Gainesville who studies ballot initiatives. He estimates that in elections held between 1970 and 2006, voter turnout increased by two percentage points for every initiative. The biggest impact came in mid-term congressional elections, while the impact in presidential years was negligible because the race to the White House generates enough heat on its own. Smith found that even in 2004, once he controlled for competitive races, none of the 11 gay marriage initiatives drove turnout that year. His studies and those of others suggest that the gay marriage issue did not flip Ohio to Bush in 2004. Smith found that turnout was not any higher in counties that had higher support for the gay marriage ban than others.

Smith says it remains an open empirical question whether the surge of voter turnout for Obama helped pass California's gay marriage ban. Exit polls suggested that black voters opposed gay marriage by wide margins, and gay activists have called for a confrontation with black churches over the issue. But Smith says the sample sizes in exit polls are so small it is hard to tell. He doubts that the "Obama surge" contributed to passing the ban because the first-time voters Obama reeled in were disproportionately young—and generationally more likely to support gay marriage. In addition, first-time voters are less likely to vote on every measure on the ballot than more experienced poll-goers.

There is, of course, an obvious tension between direct democracy and principles of constitutional and representational government. The day after the election, the American Civil Liberties Union, Lambda Legal and the National Center for Lesbian Rights launched a lawsuit in the Supreme Court of California, arguing that a popular vote can't overturn the judiciary's ability to uphold equality rights. "A major purpose of the constitution is to protect minorities from majorities," said ACLU of northern California staff attorney Elizabeth Gill.

Another criticism is that the initiatives often don't come from the grassroots, but from nationally orchestrated strategies. One leading force pushing anti-affirmative-action initiatives onto state ballots has been a Republican activist and former regent of the University of California, Ward Connerly, who turned against racial preferences out of a belief they hurt Asian and white students.

But direct democracy has always been controversial in America. Ballot initiatives got their start in the U.S. in the late 1880s in mostly western and some southern rural states, often driven by farmers wanting to wrestle some power away from state legislators they considered to be dominated by railroad interests, according to Smith. The first state to allow ballot initiatives was South Dakota in 1898, but the first state to actually use the process was Oregon in 1904. One of the first measures there called for the direct election of the state's representatives to the U.S. Senate (they were appointed by state lawmakers at the time). Early ballot measures in various states also touched on taxes, women's suffrage, and the ability of voters to elect party nominees for higher office, rather than leaving the choice to party bosses. Regulation of alcohol was another theme.

The growth of direct democracy soon faced a major legal challenge. In 1911, a telephone and telegraph company in Oregon that was opposed to a new tax measure asked the U.S. Supreme Court to strike down the ballot process on the grounds that it violated the U.S. constitution's guarantee of a "republican form of government" for every state. It argued that ballot initiatives were "subversive of the principles upon which the republic was founded." The top court effectively sidestepped the issue, ruling in 1912 that the question was a political one and outside the jurisdiction of the judges.

Legal controversies aside, the system has the benefit of forcing both sides to make their case to the voters and engage their supporters. Wilfore sees a long list of issues that her group will explore for future ballot initiatives: health care, renewable energy, paid sick days.



THIS RECENT ELECTION FEATURED 153 BALLOT INITIATIVES—AND THE VOTE TENDED TO GO LIBERAL



ACROSS THE U.S., they voted for such things as animal rights, stem cell research, and decriminalizing small amounts of medical marijuana

DAVIS TURNER/GETTY; MIKE BLAKE/REUTERS; PHIL MCCARTEN/REUTERS

"We are going to embark on a listening tour to talk to national and state organizations to say what happened in your states, what issues should we poll on, is there a consensus on what works across states."

Grover Norquist, head of Americans for Tax Reform, an anti-tax group that has pushed some ballot measures, says he's not particularly disappointed by the scorecard for conservative issues this year, noting that voters defeated several tax increases as well. "In North Dakota, we wanted to cut the income tax in half, but the governor said he'd cut the property tax instead." He says the losses were due to 2008 being "more of a Democratic year." He predicts future initiatives on racial preferences, spending transparency, and the power of organized labour.

Norquist calls ballot initiatives indispensable to passing structural reforms such as term limits or spending limits. "When there is an argument between people and the governing class, the only way to win it is an initiative," he says. "You can't get one of the parties to take your side, because *they is that*." M



INSIDE ABU GHRAIB The former command centre and barracks of disgraced U.S. troops

IMPRISONED IN THE PAST

Iraq's notorious Abu Ghraib prison is scheduled to reopen, in part as a museum

BY ADNAN R. KHAN • From the front door of his house, Mahmood Salim can easily take in Abu Ghraib prison in its entirety. Down a small hill and across a barren and dusty field, the massive 280-acre complex stretches north and east like an imposing fortress, its two dozen guard towers rising up at regular intervals. For the 49-year old taxi driver, proximity to a place so thoroughly associated with horror is a constant reminder of what Iraq has suffered. "The war doesn't mean anything to me," Salim says. "People go to war. They always have and they always will. But Abu Ghraib … that place is evil."

In its current decrepit state, Iraq's most notorious prison exudes malevolence. Its five-metre-high perimeter walls are covered with the scabs of its dark history: collapsed scaffolding, dangling, hair-like clumps of razor wire, tattered camouflage netting that once provided shade for the U.S. sentries who guarded it from attacks. Since the prison closed in September 2006—more than two years after the notorious scandal involving American troops torturing Iraqi prisoners came to light—little has been done to protect it from the effects of central Iraq's harsh desert climate. But remnants of the U.S. presence at Abu Ghraib—which was already a place of horror during Saddam Hussein's regime—lie scattered around the perimeter wall: decayed sandbags and blast walls that now only provide cover to the odd dirt devil whipped up by the arid desert wind.

They may be among the last vestiges to remind visitors that American soldiers were once here. On Sept. 3, the Iraqi government announced that Abu Ghraib will be reopened sometime in early 2009, in part as a prison—"This is a prison," Salim says, "it will always be a prison—what else can you do with it?"—and in part as a museum. But while that museum will document the atrocities Abu Ghraib has witnessed, they will be Saddam's atrocities: no mention is planned of the U.S. time at the prison, including the torture scandal. It is news that startles Salim. "They should show it," he says, before going back into his house, quietly closing the metal gate behind him.

When the Abu Ghraib scandal first broke, it was a devastating blow to the legitimacy of the U.S. invasion of Iraq. What had begun on March 20, 2003, as a staggering demonstration of American military might, one that prompted President George W. Bush to declare victory that May 1, gradually eroded to the grim reality of a drawn-out and costly guerrilla war. For critics, the Abu Ghraib scandal, which surfaced almost exactly one year after the invasion, proved a rallying point: here was the shocking evidence they were looking for of American arrogance and contempt. Should anyone be surprised that American troops were acting illegally, they argued, given that Iraq was an illegal war?

In the months that followed, Abu Ghraib gradually dropped out of the limelight amid time-consuming investigations and legal proceedings, not nearly as attention-grabbing as waterboarding or human pyramids of naked and frightened prisoners. At the same time, the conflict in Iraq was escalating. The first hints of a sectarian civil war between Sunni and Shia Muslims had surfaced and the world's media decided it had more pressing concerns than military tribunals and fact-finding missions. Abu Ghraib became yesterday's news.

People in Salim's neighbourhood seem to want to keep it that way. In this ramshackle collection of houses, each girded by its own perimeter wall, residents wave their hands in front of their faces as if to ward off unwanted memories that Abu Ghraib's name conjures up, and slam their doors shut. George W. Bush wanted the prison to be torn down. In May 2004, at the apex of the torture scandal, he promised, with the approval of the Iraqi government, to "demolish Abu Ghraib prison, as a fitting symbol of Iraq's new beginning." But the Iraqi government did not approve. Officially, they say the prison is Iraqi property, and demolishing it would be a waste of valuable resources. Unofficially, perhaps there is a more humane motive: for Iraqis to heal, they will need to confront the demons that reside in places like Abu Ghraib prison, making the museum a logical place of remembrance. But museum would be another blow to the already battered Iraqi sense of honour, he says.

"But I have something else I want to show you," adds the officer, cryptically. With the oppressive afternoon sun edging closer to the western horizon, he orders his men to load into their Humvees, and leads the convoy down a narrow dirt track to the prison walls.

Abu Ghraib is less imposing from this vantage point. Close up, the scarred walls and ramshackle fortifications reveal how precariously this once colossal symbol of might clings to life. The convoy speeds along the southern perimeter wall, flanked on the right by the main highway—IED alley, as it was called in its glory days when it bristled with

RELATIVES of Abu Ghraib prisoners in May 2004 as the American abuse scandal broke



PHOTOGRAPH BY ADNAN KHAN

ROBERTO SCHMIDT/GETTY

THE HORRORS OF SADDAM'S REGIME WILL BE DOCUMENTED—BUT NOT THE SCANDAL INVOLVING U.S. TROOPS

why omit the American contribution, however brief, to that ignoble legacy?

According to Busho Ibrahim, Iraq's deputy justice minister, what U.S. soldiers did was "nothing compared to what Saddam Hussein has done." He is, of course, right. American abuses pale beside those of Saddam, as the museum will show—from the execution room where thousands were hanged to chains that were used to tie prisoners together. But some say that on another level, U.S. soldiers hurt Iraqis almost as deeply. "They humiliated Iraqis," says one Iraqi military officer who agreed to take *Maclean's* inside Abu Ghraib, albeit only to the former barracks where some of the U.S. guards charged with acts of violence were housed. "They made innocent men do things that would bring shame to their entire family." And they took pictures of it. The officer, who asked that his name not be used, thinks the Iraqi government's decision to keep the issue of American transgressions out of the museum—the sexual abuses and the pictures that brought them to light—is culturally motivated. To display them in a improvised explosive devices. Turning left, the Humvees drive through the prison's main gate. During the U.S. occupation, it was guarded by tanks and Bradley armoured vehicles; today, only a few sleepy Iraqi soldiers man it, waving through the convoy as if it has disturbed what was otherwise a routine day of smoking and lounging.

Inside, the prison grounds are deserted, and as dilapidated as the outer perimeter wall. The convoy edges around another fortified compound. "Inside there was where the American soldiers stayed," says the Iraqi officer. "There was also a command centre in there, and Camp Vigilant." That command centre was the 320th Tactical Operations Center (TOC), where members of the 320th Military Police Battalion, a reservist unit disgraced during the scandal, had its offices. Next to that were the barracks, beyond which was Camp Vigilant, where high security detainees were held.

The officer tells his driver to stop at a break on the west side of the perimeter wall. Stepping over a coil of razor wire, he walks into the compound, dominated by what look like two large warehouses. A lizard maniacally scrambles up one of the coils, trying to stay out of the officer's path, then jumps to the ground and scurries under dust-coated desert scrub. The officer points to the bigger building on the right, indicating that this was the barracks, and disappears inside.

It is a scene of total devastation. The cavernous barrack, large enough to accommodate three 747 airliners, has been completely gutted by fire. Concrete pillars rise up like blackened monuments, charred bedsprings and bunk-bed frames litter the floor. Some remnants of the U.S. presence remain: partially melted plastic military-issue meal packs and the odd singed American cigarette box, indicating that the fire wasn't all consuming. It seems to have been controlled, possibly deliberate.

But who set the fire? According to the Iraqi officers and his men, it was American troops themselves, before they turned the prison over to Iraqi authorities. Why? "Who knows?" the officer says. "Who knows how these people think?" But then he offers a possible explanation. "When I heard our government was not going to put any of the American atrocities in the museum, I thought maybe they're trying to erase that memory. I think the U.S. is trying to do the same thing."

As George W. Bush's term in office comes to a close, part of the legacy he leaves behind—torture, rendition, Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib—will likely haunt discussion of his presidency for years to come. Many Iraqis will likely be haunted as well—by memories of what went on behind Abu Ghraib's imposing walls. Renovations and a museum may not be enough to cleanse Abu Ghraib of its demons. M



THE EUROPEAN UNION: WELCOME, TWISTED CUKES
The EU's agriculture mandarins have deregulated bumpy vegetables. Although 16 of 27 member states tried to resist the move, farm officials have decided they will no longer ban misshapened fruits and vegetables, arguing that odd-looking produce was no reason to throw it away. Remarked the European commissioner for agriculture: "This marks a new dawn for the curvy cucumber and the knobbly carrot."

Israel's mob war set off by car bomb

BY SUSAN MOHAMMAD • There were fears that Tel Aviv could be plunged into an all-out mob war after the patriarch of one of Israel's most powerful crime families was assassinated in a midday attack. Yaakov Alperon (also called Don Alperon) died Monday after a bomb detonated under his rental car, also injuring three bystanders. The explosion was apparently set off by remote control, the bomb was likely planted earlier while the 53-year-old was inside the city courthouse where one of his sons was facing



ALPERON DIED on Mondey after e bomb detonated undsr his car

extortion and assault charges.

The hit may have been the result of a dispute between Alperon and two other crime gangs over a multi million dollar a-year recycling racket. Residents now fear police won't be able to suppress a war in Tel Aviv's already violent underworld. Gangs have not been shy about using anti tank missiles and grenades in public attempts to kill rival leaders. In 2003, three bystanders were killed and 18 wounded in a street-bombing attempt (the seventh) on the life of gang leader Zeev Rosenstein. Rosenstein walked away with scratches.

Alperon was said to command the third largest organized crime group in Israel, and was known for dating famous women. Tel Aviv police Cmdr. Ilan Franco said the potential consequences of the "extremely serious event" were clear to the force, adding it was likely the result of an "internal conflict" within the crime world. That was a case of stating the obvious: in 2006 Alperon stabbed rival gang leader Amir Mulner in the neck when turf talks between them went wrong (he was never charged). At Alperon's funeral on Tuesday, one of his sons said, "We will never forgive—God will avenge his blood. We will find the man who did this. I'll send this man to God. He won't have a grave because I'll cut off his arms, his head, and his legs." M

A new rival for Chávez: his ex-wife

BY SATE LUNAU • Notoriously feisty Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez doesn't seem like the kind of guy who'd back down from a fight. He's eagerly tangled with foes like George W. Bush (whom he famously called "the devil") and the king of Spain (who told Chávez to "shut up" during one heated exchange at a leaders' summit). But with Venezuelans heading to the polls Sunday in regional elections, Chávez is staring down a new kind of political enemy: Marisabel Rodriguez, his ex-wife.

Rodriguez, a blond-haired former television host, is running for mayor in Barquisimeto, Venezuela's fourth-largest city. It's an important vote for Chavez, who's been pushing hard to promote his allies (in the 2004 regional election, Chavez's backing helped his supporters win in almost every state). However, Rodriguez—a candidate for the independent left wing party Podemos—has proven to be a fly in the ointment. Now remarried to a tennis coach, she's pulled no punches in criticizing her ex: "If he is not a dictator, at least he seems it," she says.

It's not the first time the former couple has publicly sparred. After Chávez launched a lawsuit seeking better visitation rights with their daughter, Rodriguez publicly accused him of being a negligent father. Declaring herself "a victim of violence, harassment and persecution," she even suggested the lawsuit was intended to keep her from running for office (under Venezuelan law, a judgment against her could have stopped her from standing for election). Chávez, who remained uncharacteristically silent on the issue, withdrew the lawsuit earlier this year.



SHE WANTS to bs mayor, and she's not pulling punchss

Sunday's vote will bear watching, and not just for the drama. If Chavez's supporters win big, observers expect him to push for constitutional reforms that would allow for the president's indefinite re-election—the same reform he tried, unsuccessfully, to introduce last year in a referendum. At that time, Rodriguez emerged as a powerful critic of her ex-husband, calling his proposed amendments "a leap in the dark." Could the outspoken Chávez have met his match? M

Were Kosovo patients slain for organs?



FORTY inmates disappeared from the Stimlje mental asylum in 2001

BY CAMERON AINSWORTH-VINCZE • Shortly after the Kosovo War ended in June 1999, harrowing reports began to surface about atrocities committed by both the ethnic-Albanian led Kosovo Liberation Army and Yugoslav Serbian forces. Former Yugoslav leader Slobodan Milosevic's trial later confirmed that crimes against humanity took place during the conflict, while reports of revenge attacks carried out by ethnic Albanian rebels against the Serb minority in Kosovo, then an autonomous part of what was left of Yuguslavia, highlighted the level of brutality that unfolded in the war's aftermath. Now comes another sordid accusation to open up an old wound between the bitter rivals.

Last week, Serbian prosecutors announced that a number of mental patients who disappeared after the Kosovo War may have been victims of an organ trafficking network set up in neighbouring Albania. Bruno Vekaric, Serbia's war crimes prosecutor, told the Associated Press that the mysterious disappearance of 40 people in 2001 from a mental hospital in the southern Kosovo town of Stimlje may have been linked to the alleged organ trafficking ring. Vekaric added that Serbian authorities have "reliable evidence [that] fits the picture that something gruesome was going on in Albania."

To back up their claim, Serbian authorities are also pointing to a report released earlier this year entitled "The Hunt: War Criminals and Me." In the report, former chief UN war crimes prosecutor Carla Del Ponte wrote that more than 300 people who were kidnapped and transported to Albania have never been seen since, and that reports suggest they were victims of an organ harvesting operation. She stopped short, however, of identifying the source of those reports. The government of now-independent Kosovo refutes the claim, calling it "mere speculation from Belgrade." M

CP, GETTY, REUTERS



THE DECLINE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN CAR

American cars were once the epitome of style and a symbol of industrial power. But arrogance, desperation and greed changed all that. BY COLIN CAMPBELL

In hall No. 5, tucked far away from the main action at the high profile Paris Motor Show last month, visitors who looked hard enough would have found the booth belonging to General Motors Corp. Those who went to the trouble—and not many did—were disappointed with what they found.

Paris was the place GM had decided to raise the curtain on a critical piece of its future in a world increasingly focused on efficiency and economy—the Chevy Cruze. The Detroit company is pinning its hopes on the lightweight Cruze to lure car buyers in Asia, Europe and North America away from bestsellers like the Honda Civic. Yet there were none of the usual showbiz trappings at its unveiling, no models leaning against the hood, no rock-concert special effects to usher in the age of the Cruze. Just a plain white stage and the car itself: a conventional, even understated, four-door family sedan. It "had all the pomp and circumstance of a Tuesday," noted one auto critic. Perhaps it was just as well then that few journalists bothered to show up.

Most automakers look to the Paris show to highlight their next small, fuel-efficient wonders. It's a science fair disguised as a car show. Mercedes-Benz and BMW were unveiling their first hybrids. Nissan snagged attention with its tiny Nuvu. Hyundai brought along its new mini-car, the i20. But at GM's second floor exhibit, visitors were confronted by a collection of massive Hummers and a hulking Cadillac Escalade. "This was emblematic of GM," says Maryann Keller, an independent auto analyst who has covered the industry since the 1970s. "Here's this show dedicated to small cars, new technologies, electric vehicles. Why, to Paris, would you bring Hummers, the Escalade and a Camaro? What planet are you on?"

In truth, though, GM had far bigger problems than a flubbed launch. Just as the Cruze was fizzling in Paris, the company's accountants and finance execs were assembling the final details of what was one of the company's worst quarterly results in nearly 100 years. In just three months this fall, GM burned through US$6.9 billion in cash. In October, sales fell 45 per cent from a year ago, and it was clear the company was headed for yet another painful round of cuts. Even that may not be enough. GM ended last quarter with only $16.2 billion in cash, and there is no sign of an imminent turnaround in auto sales. Analysts have been musing about bankruptcy for years now, but suddenly it seems GM's demise could really be at hand—a fact that even GM execs are now forced to acknowledge. "Even with our planned actions, our estimated liquidity will fall significantly short of the minimum required to operate our business," the company reported.

The crisis is no longer just GM's either. CEO Rick Wagoner warned of a domino effect should his company fail. Certainly, it would hit the Detroit auto industry like a wrecking ball, disrupting the auto parts industry and sparking a crisis of confidence among buyers that could drag an already weakened Chrysler and even Ford down too. Saving Detroit, even temporarily, could end up costing taxpayers dearly. The industry is currently asking for US$25 billion in relief, but it has already received US$25 billion to retool plants and will need another US$25 billion to fund health care trust funds it set up last year. Not saving the automakers could cost even more, as hundreds of thousands of jobs hang in the balance.

Politicians in Canada and the U.S. are now pondering the future of the once proud American auto industry, and whether it even has one. But no matter what they decide, Detroit will never be what it once was.

There was a time that Corvette, Mustang, Cadillac and Chevy were not just brands, they were symbols of American technological achievement and material success. If there was a car to lust after or to gawk at, you could be sure it was made in Detroit. GM could confidently ask, "Wouldn't you rather drive a Buick?" And the answer, to any red-blooded American, was always "yes." Detroit was the first and last word on style and performance, and its influence spread through popular culture. The world looked up with envy at the American auto industry.

So how did it come to this? A dull sedan in a forgotten corner of a major auto show, with the spotlights shining on foreign rivals that not long ago were just tiny specks in Detroit's rear-view mirror. The decline began slowly, almost imperceptibly. There were ups and downs, and periods when it seemed that salvation was at hand. But ultimately, Detroit's carmakers were overcome by a combination of neglect, of a failure to learn from past mistakes, and staggering arrogance. They got caught in the slow lane in a fast-changing world. As lawmakers in the U.S. and Canada mull how to save the industry, the real question is whether there's anything left to salvage.

In 1955, the movie *Rebel Without a Cause* came out, starring James Dean and a '49 Mercury Coupe. Elvis Presley was about to rocket to fame, and to famously buy his mother a pink Cadillac with his windfall. It was the year of the Ford Thunderbird, the '55 Chevy and the first of the famed Virgil Exner designs at Chrysler, like the Imperial. The act creating the interstate highway system would pass the following year and well-off Americans were migrating to the suburbs. This was "the apex of the golden age of the automobile in America," says John Heitmann, a historian at the University of Dayton.

"The auto industry and the image of the nation were bound together as one," says Bruce Pietrykowski, a sociologist at the University of Michigan Dearborn. "The industry was the major promoter of cultural events, such as symphonic orchestras and popular television shows." The city of Detroit was buzzing as it built not just cars but a new wealthy American middle class. Owning a car became a "symbol of upward mobility, financially as well as socially."

One in seven Americans were tied to the industry directly or indirectly. It wasn't just big, it was *the* symbol of American industrial superiority. But even in those glory days, the first cracks in the mighty facade began to appear. When a brief but steep recession hit in 1958, car companies panicked at a sudden drop in profitability, Heitmann says. They turned control over to financiers rather than "car guys" and engineers. "Once you get the accountants and bean counters, you lose that passion for automobiles," he says. The Japanese automakers, on the other hand, tended to reserve top jobs for engineering visionaries—establishing a corporate culture that would pay big dividends in the long run.

There were other warning signs in those early days. Detroit, for instance, "failed to understand the emergence of Volkswagen in the U.S. and the appeal of smaller cars," says Keller, who has written two books about GM. "It started when they were incredibly rich, incredibly arrogant and incredibly entombed in their own stupidity," she says. An insular state of mind ruled in Detroit, as profit trumped design and quality. By the 1970s, an industry that had always seen itself as the epitome of American know-how found itself dealing with the Ford Pinto, which tragically exploded in some cases when it was rear ended, and the laughably ugly AMC Gremlin. Observers dubbed it Detroit's Malaise Era.

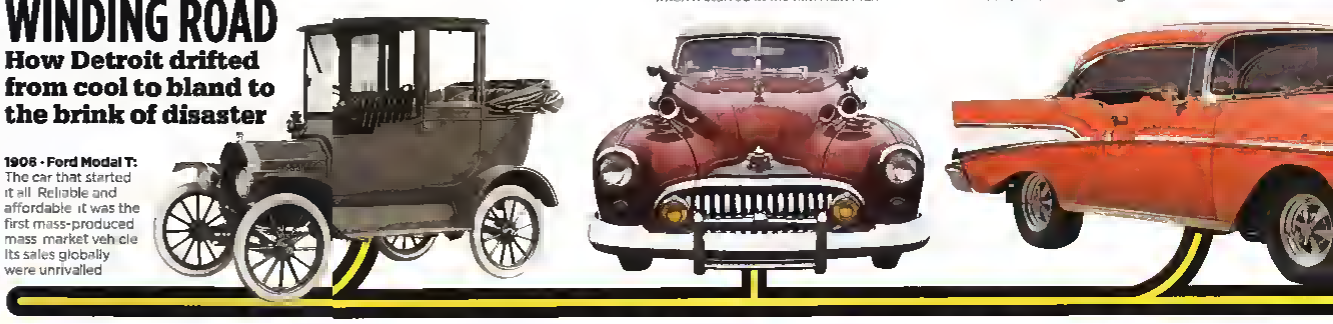
When the oil shocks of 1973 and 1979 hit, Detroit was unprepared. It had been dragged kicking and screaming into the small car market, but even then failed to deliver a product that really fit the times. That period very nearly spelled the end for Chrysler. In 1980 it was staring down certain bankruptcy, and was saved only by a $1.2-billion loan from the U.S. government. Its fortunes reversed when, led by Lee Iacocca, it came out with the boxy but inexpensive and fuel-efficient K car, matching the key advantages of the latest wave of imports. Then, in 1984, it invented the minivan. Ford, similarly, would soon strike gold with the Taurus sedan, proving that America could still deliver a hot design. But these successes proved to be more reprieves than genuine turnarounds. The door was left open to foreign rivals, and they came through in waves.

Honda set up shop in Marysville, Ohio, in 1982. Not only did it make high quality cars, it did so without the financial burden imposed by Detroit's United Auto Workers union. Foreign manufacturers established a new auto industry south of the Ohio River where there was little UAW presence.

Detroit had established a combative and costly relationship with its blue-collar workers dating back to the late '40s, and would soon begin paying for it. "The UAW had insatiable greed, and none of the companies could stand up to it. Doing so would bring on long strikes and great losses," says David Lewis, a historian at the University of Michigan who worked for GM in the early 1960s. Year after year, labour raised its demands, and management would capitulate to keep the factories humming, and to protect their vaunted market share. The situation worked fine, so long as those rising costs could be passed on to customers. But with Japanese competition, that proved increasingly difficult. "The net result included higher wage, pension, health care and other costs that strapped the surviving American automakers," says Lewis. Today, health care costs add over $1,500 to the price of each car GM makes in

THE LONG AND WINDING ROAD

How Detroit drifted from cool to bland to the brink of disaster



1908 - Ford Model T: The car that started it all. Reliable and affordable, it was the first mass-produced mass market vehicle. Its sales globally were unrivalled

1948 - Buick Roadmaster: Detroit style at its finest. This car was still turning heads in the late 1980s when it starred in the film *Rain Man*

1957 - '57 Chevy: With a small-block V8 and those era-defining tail fins, it was fast, easy to maintain and customizable. One of the original hot rods

TIME LIFE PICTURES/CAR CULTURE/ISTOCK

SAVING GM MAY COST TAXPAYERS $75 BILLION. LETTING IT FAIL COULD COST EVEN MORE.

the U S , or over $7 billion a year—more than the manufacturers pay for steel. By comparison, Toyota spends under US$300 per car. From 1993 to 2007, GM spent $103 billion on pensions and health care for retirees.

These stresses aside, by the mid 1990s Detroit seemed to be experiencing another renaissance. GM was expanding into foreign markets and profits were hitting record levels—it made $6.88 billion in 1995. Demand for trucks and the new sport utility segment soared. With oil worth around $20 a barrel, North American consumers clamoured for big vehicles and Detroit delivered (practically handing the compact segment over to foreign automakers who were still primarily selling gas sipping compacts and family sedans). Critics argued this sudden success had more to do with the boom times of the '90s than the kinds of vehicles Detroit was pumping out, like the Chevy Lumina, Buick LeSabre and Chevy Cavalier—inexpensive cars that sold well but never built the kind of loyalty that the imports enjoyed. Overall profits disguised the fact that in the middle of the decade Detroit was still plagued by UAW strikes, which cost GM an estimated $1.2 billion in 1996 alone.

The roaring '90s launched the era of easy credit, and automakers pushed "zero per cent" financing deals, which drove sales higher at the expense of profit margins. The recession of 2001 should have forced Detroit to pause, re-evaluate and restructure, but any soul-searching was short lived. Americans kept on spending and Detroit kept paving its road to ruin, selling big, uninspired cars for low prices, and all but repeating the mistakes of the 1970s. "Eventually that cheap credit created more problems than it solved," says James Rubenstein, an auto analyst and professor at Miami University in Ohio. Markets were flooded with a glut of new cars (often off-loaded to rental companies), and sales inevitably started to sink.

For Detroit, the underlying story through these rocky decades was one of market share decline. Until recently, GM, Ford and Chrysler were known as "The Big Three" in the early 1960s, they controlled almost 95 per cent of the U S auto market. By 1980, that had slipped to around 80 per cent. Even a decade ago, GM was still the world's largest company. Today, the label "Big Three" is about as dated as the tail fins on a '50s Cadillac. With a market share of around 44 per cent, they've been downsized to "the Detroit Three." The Asian carmakers, like Toyota, Honda, Hyundai and Kia, now hold 48 per cent of the U.S. market, according to Autodata Corp. And last year, Toyota sold more cars globally than GM for the first time. German carmakers like Volkswagen have also established themselves as industry giants. Thirty years ago, these companies were afterthoughts in North America. This summer, the Honda Civic overtook the Ford F-series pickup as the bestselling vehicle in America.

GM, on the other hand, has gone nowhere. In 1962, it sold 4.2 million automobiles and employed 605,000 people. In 2005, GM sold 4.5 million cars and employed 335,000 people—26 per cent of the market, with 11 major competitors. And while critics often point to rich employment contracts as the culprit in GM's decline, that is only part of the story. While labour accounts for roughly $1,500 of the cost of each vehicle, GM, Ford and Chrysler offer anywhere from $3,500 to $7,000 in incentives to car buyers, says Ken Lewenza, the new head of the Canadian Auto Workers. "It's not about labour rates, it's about market, market, market. We could work for nothing and it still wouldn't improve the bottom line or market conditions."

While quality and efficiency have improved in recent years, Detroit's reputation for bland, mediocre cars haunts it still. GM has known since the late 1990s that it needed, as Wagoner put it, "a little more spice in the mix." But "spice" just translated into more of the same. Now a generation of young car buyers aspire to drive BMWs and Audis. Even for older car buyers, the days of longing to own a Buick are long gone.

A little over three years ago, Jerome York, an adviser to billionaire investor Kirk Kerkorian, quit the board of directors of GM with a dire warning. In a letter of resignation, York wrote that while the company appeared to have averted the near-term threat of bankruptcy, he had "grave reservations" about its business model and ability to compete with Asian producers. "The overriding issue remains that of North American market share decline," noted York, a former Chrysler executive.

Today, GM stands as a company that has had countless warnings like this one and plenty of opportunity to right itself—to reduce its debt, to stop paying out dividends it couldn't afford, to reduce labour costs and to kill off some of its eight brands. Keller argues it always grasped at magic solutions instead, like its efforts to automate factories or invest in the mortgage banking business in the 1980s. "With GM you have a company that's reactionary. It's never proactive, it never gets ahead of its problems," she says.

That it has failed so consistently leads many to wonder if it is worth saving at all. The prominent U S hedge fund manager, William Ackman, stated last week that lending more money to the debt-laden company isn't the answer and that it should consider bankruptcy. Even governments on both sides of the border are struggling with whether or not they come back and say we need more? How far are we prepared to go to keep supporting them?" It's a question no elected official seems ready, or able, to answer.

A bailout is an especially troublesome prospect given that things aren't nearly so bad with the Japanese automakers. Yes, all the carmakers are suffering in this economic downturn. Sales have dropped from 17.5 million cars a year to 10.5 million in the U S., the steepest slump on record, says auto analyst Dennis DesRosiers. But Honda and Toyota are still expanding in Canada, he says. Throwing public money at companies that are failing is tantamount to punishing those that are prospering and hiring, he says. In our free market economy, shouldn't we allow the weak to fail, and the strong to flourish?

That, however, is a tough argument for politicians to make, even those like Finance Minister Jim Flaherty, who has long argued against handouts to the private sector. He argued last week that a bailout puts government in the awkward position of choosing winners and losers. But, he added, government would look to invest in projects that they should pony up to save Detroit. Taxpayers, after all, have a long history of propping up the auto industry with lousy results. According to the Canadian Taxpayers Federation, federal and provincial governments in Canada have handed Detroit automakers $782 million in the past five years. Where does it end? Public money has been pumped into GM's Oshawa plant, Ford's plant in Oakville and Chrysler's paint shop in Windsor, to name a few. "In each case, the companies in return have promised to maintain X number of jobs. Generally that's not happening," says Tony Faria, director of the Office of Automotive Research at the University of Windsor. "What happens if six months into 2009 they come back and say we need more?"

Critical. If a bailout does materialize, Canada will have to follow along if it hopes to maintain its share of the auto industry. "You've got to believe that the U S. government will insist that its tax dollars be used for U.S. plants and U S workers. Canada has to recognize that it has to play a similar role," says the CAW's Lewenza. That's what the Detroit Three are now asking for, which could mean a handout of more than $3.5 billion from Ottawa and Ontario.

There's no question letting GM sink would be painful, but others argue it wouldn't necessarily ruin the entire auto industry. To start, there is enough inventory out there to meet current demand for cars, says Fana. And as the market recovers, other foreign automakers, from India's Tata Motors to Hyundai, could come in and pick up the slack. The question is, how much does it matter if the industry is foreign or domestically owned?

Many argue it matters *a lot*, and that killing off GM would be a colossal mistake. The North American industry, while down and out at the moment, is still a key segment of the American economy. "There's nothing as complicated as a car that challenges as many industries and raw material manufacturers and component manufacturers," says Keller. Losing it would cost more than jobs. While foreign-owned plants would still exist, they don't contribute the same kind of technical know-how to the domestic economy. "The fact that you have a Honda plant in the U S is irrelevant. You might as well have a toaster assembly plant," adds Keller.

The big auto companies remain the foundation of many local economies. If GM fell, parts companies like Johnson Controls and Magna would have to lay off huge numbers of workers. Everyone from ad agencies to restaurants across the street from GM plants appear to have a long-term future. "So if General Motors is going to build a hybrid car in Oshawa, people can understand that that is a good investment for the longer term. Operating a large truck plant, pickup trucks—probably not a good investment of taxpayers' money." The U S. Congress is now debating whether to give the automakers access to the $700-billion Wall Sreet bailout package.

GM employs 142,000 workers in the U S and roughly 19,000 in Canada's six plants, but as many as three million jobs are connected to the Detroit car companies, according to the Center for Automotive Research. Deciding which plants to save and where will be a nightmare, not to mention highly pol



1964 · Ford Mustang: It created the "pony car" class of American sports cars. Despite numerous redesigns and imitators, it's been so successful that it's never gone out of production

1970 · AMC Gremlin: The effort to make smaller cars led to some bizarre designs. Introduced on April Fool's Day, the Gremlin lives on as a symbol of Detroit's "Malaise Era"

1984 · Dodge Caravan: The vehicle for suburban families, the minivan was a home run for Chrysler, which had faced bankruptcy just a few years earlier

1986 · Ford Taurus: A rare hit for Detroit in a period when Japanese carmakers were beginning their assault on North America, but its generic look didn't turn many heads

1992 · Ford F-150: The pickup remains part of American culture and none sold better than the F-series. They drove record profits for U.S. carmakers, who mostly ignored small cars

CORBIS HULTON ARCHIVE

CORBIS

would suffer, says Faria. "We could easily see 700,000 to 900,000 people out of work" across North America, he says. All this would add fuel to the current economic wildfire—putting more pressure on the housing market, regional banks, and the service sector. In these already depressed rust belt regions, there are no clear options for workers who'd find themselves suddenly out of a job, not to mention the 775,000 retirees that depend on the automakers for their pensions. Those pensions could fall short, even if governments are forced to pick up part of the tab.

It's unlikely that without a bailout GM can survive. Even bankruptcy protection might not be an option because of the difficulty in financing a restructuring plan, analysts say. That leaves liquidation as the final option. GM, and possibly others, would be forced to close up shop and sell their assets—a fate that would represent a calamity for hundreds of thousands of people. Just as government had a responsibility to the people of New Orleans after Katrina, there's an argument that politicians have an obligation to help Detroit, Rubenstein argues. On top of all this, there's

'WE COULD EASILY SEE 900,000 JOBS LOST,' CRIPPLING LOCAL ECONOMIES

vette, was also in *Car and Driver*'s 10 Best Cars ranking. The industry has enjoyed years of labour peace, and the 2007 contract agreements with the United Auto Workers in the U.S. were hailed as a significant step toward making American carmakers competitive again. Finally, they seemed to have regained their focus on the cars themselves.

But even with all that wind at their back, analysts say a full turnaround could still be half a decade away at least, and the Detroit Three don't have that kind of time. They also don't have history on their side, notes Heitmann. Starting back in the 1960s, the British government struggled to prop up its auto industry, intent on maintaining its place in the global auto trade. Britain faced many of the same challenges as Detroit, from weak management to rising competition. "Yet in the end it didn't work," says Heitmann. Famed brands like Jaguar and Rover received millions in aid, but in the end they succumbed to rivals. Those iconic names survive only as bit players, and small subsidiaries of foreign rivals. Any bailout in North America will have to be incredibly well-conceived and deftly-



1992 - Grand Cherokee: Gas was cheap and big vehicles were hot. The SUV craze was born.

2003 - Hummer H2: The height of American automotive excess and hubris. The behemoth quickly bottomed out as gas prices soared and consumers demanded smaller cars.

2007 - Chevy Volt: Set to go into production in 2010, the plug-in electric concept car could be the vehicle to save Detroit. But will GM survive to see that happen?

the question of national security and energy independence, he adds. A bailout is likely to be tied to energy efficient cars like the Volt, which could have wide-ranging benefits for a country that has long talked of weaning itself off of foreign oil.

Even if GM survives, however, it will almost certainly involve ditching the current management. "Every single one of them has to go," says Keller. GM's Wagoner has overseen a staggering $73 billion in losses since 2005 alone. Starting fresh with new leadership is the only way to ensure that the same mistakes aren't repeated yet again, she says.

The irony is that Detroit is being pushed to the edge just at a moment when it seems to be re-establishing its reputation for quality and design. Reliability ratings for most North American models are improving and critics actually like many of Detroit's latest models again. *Motor Trend* named GM's Cadillac CTS the 2008 Car of the Year. That car, along with the Chevy Malibu and Corvette, was also in *Car and Driver*'s 10 Best Cars ranking. The industry has enjoyed years of labour peace, and the 2007 contract agreements with the United Auto Workers in the U.S. were hailed as a significant step toward making American carmakers competitive again. Finally, they seemed to have regained their focus on the cars themselves.

But even with all that wind at their back, analysts say a full turnaround could still be half a decade away at least, and the Detroit Three don't have that kind of time. They also don't have history on their side, notes Heitmann. Starting back in the 1960s, the British government struggled to prop up its auto industry, intent on maintaining its place in the global auto trade. Britain faced many of the same challenges as Detroit, from weak management to rising competition. "Yet in the end it didn't work," says Heitmann. Famed brands like Jaguar and Rover received millions in aid, but in the end they succumbed to rivals. Those iconic names survive only as bit players, and small subsidiaries of foreign rivals. Any bailout in North America will have to be incredibly well-conceived and deftly-handled, he says. "I think problems are always solvable. But this problem is so huge one wonders. Is it solvable? Let's hope." M

—With Duncan Hood

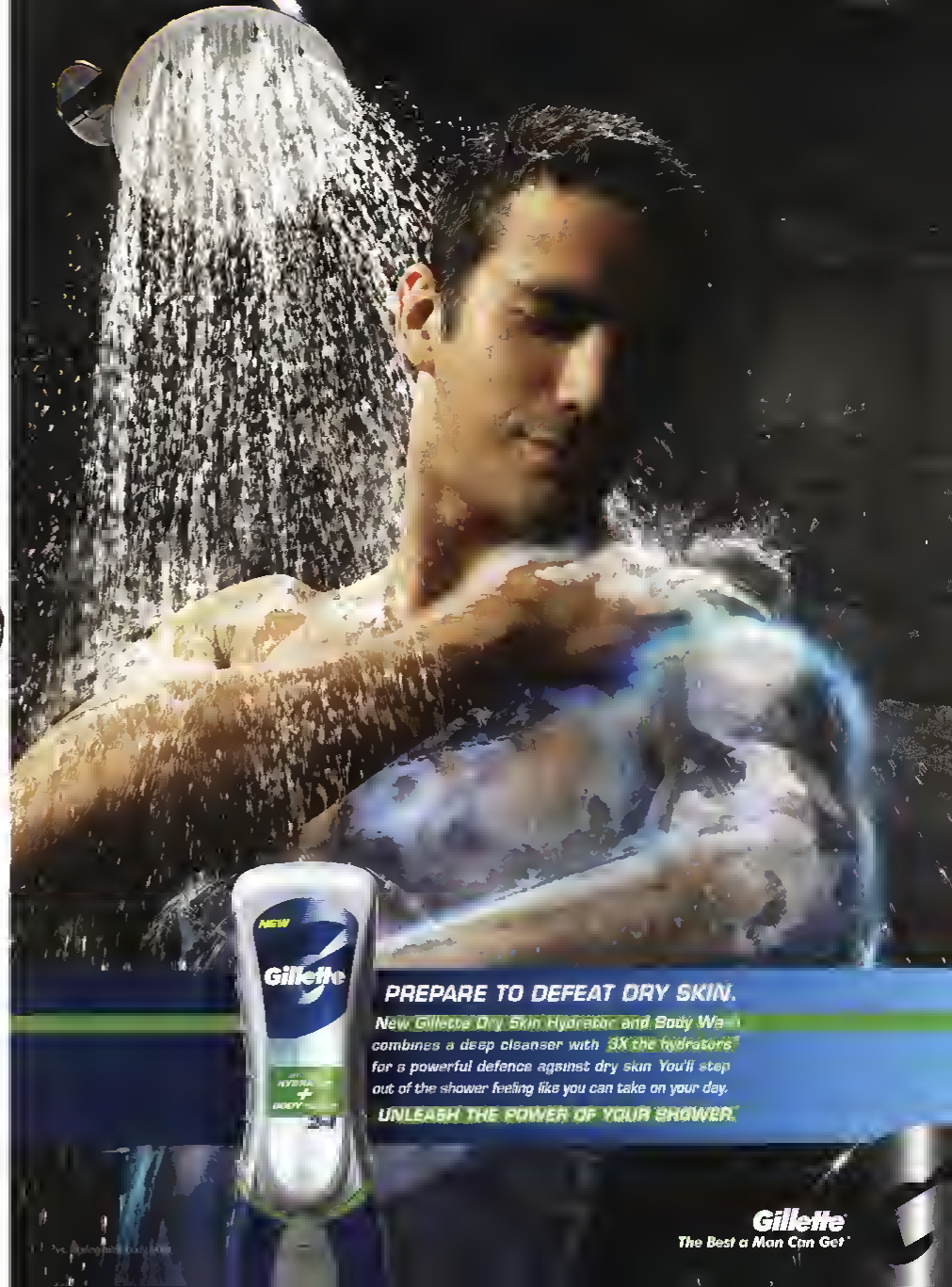
ON THE WEB: For more on the car crisis check out **macleans.ca/cars**

EMPLOYEE OF THE WEEK

HITTING PEDESTRIANS JUST PART OF THE JOB

Bus driver David Justka's union is fighting his dismissal from a U.S. transit authority. In 2000 he struck and injured a pedestrian. Then in 2005 his bus hit and killed a surgeon on a bicycle, resulting in a lawsuit against the authority. Then, last September, he mowed down a 16-year-old girl. Justka was suspended and then fired from his job. The union has launched a grievance, arguing among other things that Justka's past driving record is irrelevant.

CORBIS; BUSINESS WIRE; MARIO TAMA/GETTY IMAGES





The photo of our model has not been modified or retouched in any way

Every™ Day

It's better to have a body in shape than to obsess about the shape of your body.

Eat well, include milk products, be active whenever you can, and be yourself.

That's the best way to attain and maintain your healthy weight—a healthy weight where you feel healthiest and happiest, inside and out. Get more helpful tips for women, by women, at

yourhealthyweight.ca

QUALITY MILK®

Is this the future? Don't bet on it.



STEVE MAICH

There has been much said and written lately about the "millennial generation," the latest group of kids who are about to revolutionize the workplace and the economy. Don Tapscott, the futurist and business professor who's been rhapsodizing about the potential of technology for decades, is out with his latest book, *Grown Up Digital: How the Net Generation is Changing Your World*—a 300-page valentine to the teens about to enter the workforce, a group he has branded the "Net geners."

"The kids are more than alright," he writes. "As the first global generation ever, they are smarter, quicker, and more tolerant of diversity." Look at them surf the Internet! Watch them multitask! They are truly a wonder to behold! Etcetera, etcetera, on and on.

A slightly more nuanced appraisal of this generation comes from *Wall Street Journal* writer Ron Alsop, in his new book *The Trophy Kids Grow Up: How the Millennial Generation is Shaking Up the Workplace*. Like Tapscott, Alsop sees the millennials (defined as all those born between 1980 and 2001) as more dynamic, ambitious and tech savvy than any previous generation. He at least nods to their less savoury aspects—their rampant narcissism and poor attention span, for example. But ultimately he figures that it's incumbent on employers and managers to bend to the whims of this new crop of employees, not the other way around. And that's convenient, because that's just what the kids think too!

What makes both books intriguing is the consistency of the portrait of the young worker they present. Both couch their descriptions in only the most upbeat language, but the unmistakable impression is that of a generation that is deeply self-obsessed, needy, ambitious, impatient and undisciplined. Tapscott advises managers that "Net geners" expect "work and fun to be all rolled into one." If the kids want to blow off a couple of hours in the afternoon to go play volleyball, Tapscott says, you should encourage them to do so because this will allow them to "relax into productivity." They want to be promoted fast, they want a flexible work schedule, loathe the idea of a nine-to-five cubicle culture, and they're positively allergic to boredom. They want to be praised constantly; to wear whatever they choose; and they don't want their bosses, you know, lecturing them and stuff.

As one Steffen Ringelmann, a twentysomething designer in New York City, tells Alsop: "I want to explore, deconstruct and understand my own sense of self through the act of creation." He then adds with a laugh, "It's about me, me, me, me, me!"

Get all that, boss? Your assignment is to hire Steffen and to help advance his quest for self-discovery through creation. If you don't like the sound of that, then Steffen will quit and work for somebody else. And Alsop and Tapscott think that'll be your loss. The millennials are taking over. Resistance is futile.



Spoiled, shallow and selfish: say hi to the new kid at work

Reading these books, it's tempting to write off the entire generation as a bunch of vain and vacuous prima donnas, but that's not exactly fair. One of the key weaknesses of this whole business of studying young workers as if they were some exotic species is that it ignores the lessons we should have all taken from our own callow youth. Young people have always thought they were smarter than their bosses, that they deserved more money, more freedom, more responsibility, and more recognition for their efforts. Millennials don't respect office hierarchy? No kidding. Doesn't everybody at the bottom of the corporate ladder want less hierarchy? And doesn't every generation look down at the youngest and lament their lack of direction, their lack of respect and their crazy music?

The authors assume that these immature, self absorbed young adults, many of whom are barely into their first apartments and have never faced the challenge of a competitive workplace, will remain essentially the same throughout their careers. Yet it's not at all clear how much of the millennial attitude toward work is due to genuine generational difference, and how much is simple immaturity and inexperience.

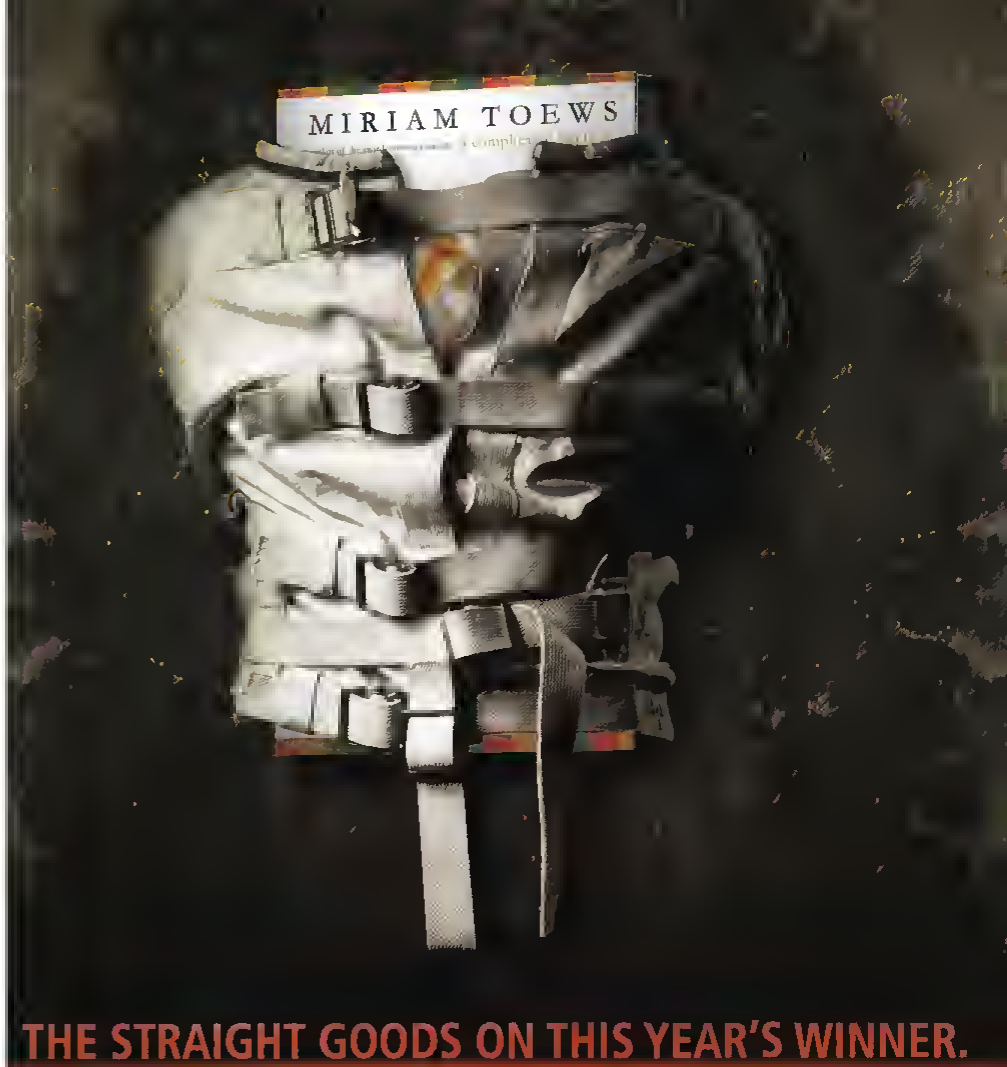
But the real significance isn't in what these books have to say about young workers at all. Most of the observations and recommendations are so general as to be practically useless in the real world. In fact, books like *Grown Up Digital* and *The Trophy Kids* aren't really about young people at all. They are about the baby boomers who read them (and write them). It's the boomers who raised these millennials, and as Alsop rightly points out, they raised their kids to be steeped in the ethos of self-esteem, praised at every turn, enrolled in dozens of activities to ensure "well-roundedness." Boomers, who've spent their lives terrified of being seen as old-fashioned, never bothered to dwell on archaic notions like perseverance, discipline, focus and sacrifice.

Now, in the workplace, they turn to boomer management gurus who advise them to indulge their young workers just as they indulged their children at home. Yes, this might contradict everything they've ever believed about forming a cohesive and productive workforce. But they are reassured that by eliminating rules, chain of command, and doling out praise like penny candy they are simply unleashing the fantastic potential of their little darlings.

History disagrees. History shows that it's all those old-fashioned values that made North America the world's most dynamic economy. Experience tells us that naive kids eventually discover a pretty close relationship between effort, discipline and success. One day we discover that advancement and respect flow from hard work, commitment, and not blowing off assignments to go play volleyball. "Relaxing into productivity" is a myth. The world economy is getting more competitive, not less. And the sooner boomer managers face that, the sooner the kids will start growing up. M

steve.maich@macleans.rogers.com

CHRISTOPHER ROBBINS/VEER/CORBIS



THE STRAIGHT GOODS ON THIS YEAR'S WINNER.



Madness, sorrow and comedy intersect in Marian Toews' The Flying Troutmans. This year's recipient of the prestigious Rogers Writers' Trust Fiction Prize dusts off the classic road story and delivers some entertaining diversions. And once again, the field wes impressive. Nominated alongside the The Flying Troutmans is Atmospheric Disturbances by Rivka Galchen, Cockroach by Rawi Hage, The Man Game by Lee Henderson and Red Dog Red Dog by Petrick Lane. Congratulations to all.

ROGERS™



OFICINA ESPAÑOLA DE TURISMO EN TORONTO • TOURIST OFFICE OF SPAIN • OFFICE DU TOURISME D'ESPAGNE
2 Bloor Street West, Suite 3402, TORONTO, Ontario, M4W 3E2
Tel.: 1- 416 - 961 3131 Fax.: 1- 416 - 961 1992 toronto@tourspain.toronto.on.ca www.tourspain.toronto.on.ca



TAKE OFF EH!

NON STOP TRAVEL INTELLIGENCE

"The world is a book and those who do not travel read only a page."

– Saint Augustine

FOR THOSE WHO DON'T TRAVEL, it's easy to see the world in black and white. Travel a little and the picture changes. A breathtaking sight spurs a passion to preserve. A shared smile knocks down barriers.

At TakeOffeh.com we hope to inspire others with our zest for new and different travel experiences. We've seen how responsible travel can lead to cultural, economic, social and political change. On a personal level, those of us who create this website know that travel opens the mind, invigorates the body and infuses the spirit. It reveals our similarities and disarms our differences.



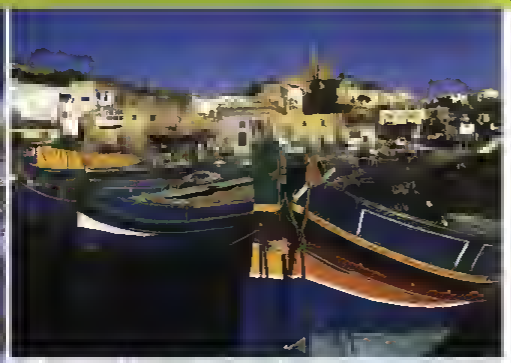
We hope these words and pictures encourage you to get out there, eh!

Tina + Sean

CHECK IT OUT

Visit TakeOffeh.com and search "Robben Island" to read Rebecca Shepard's moving story about visiting the former maximum-security prison where Nelson Mandela was incarcerated for 18 years.







A CANADIAN TRAVEL INDUSTRY PRIMER

Or, everything you ever wanted to know about the travel biz but were afraid to ask

BY NINA SLAWEY

ONCE UPON A TIME, travel was the secret realm of travel agencies. Agents typed in strange codes and produced precious paper tickets. They offered up walls of travel brochures and the promise of dreams fulfilled.

Now your neighbour's an expert. So is your barista. Not to mention the taxi driver. Or are they?

The way travel is bought and sold is in fact far more complex today than it was 20 years ago. Instead of one agency distribution channel, there are now hundreds. Large vertically integrated travel businesses mean that, although you just spent hours comparison shopping on the web, you've actually been dealing with variations of the same company. And, the commoditization of travel with its pressure for discounted pricing has ravaged many operators, leaving several belly up on the tarmac.

From newspapers to radio and the web, travel noise is at fever pitch. Knowing who to trust with your valuable vacation time is increasingly confusing. And, for many providers who do offer good value, being heard above the din is almost impossible. When it comes to travel, we are in the Days of the Wild Web.

The companies that own a large share of this brave new world are the big box travel agencies such as Expedia and Travelocity (and yes, they are travel agencies). They sometimes feature better prices because they sell in volume. But the choice is limited to mass-market options. They cannot offer you that cute little farmhouse in Tuscany where the owner teaches pasta classes and shares winemaking tips. Nor can they suggest which all-inclusive property in the Dominican is best suited to your personal travel style.



What can a traveller do? It depends on what you're looking for. If you are shopping for a domestic airline ticket, the web is your best bet. It's easy, fast and reliable since there are only a few highly competitive scheduled carriers. Travel agents aren't interested in this kind of business anyway as there's little or no money to be made.

From newspapers to radio and the web, travel noise is at fever pitch. Knowing whom to trust with your valuable vacation time is increasingly confusing.

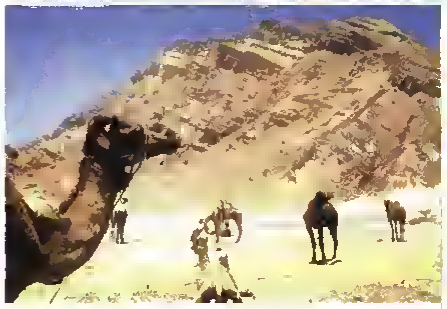
With the U.S. system of "hub and spoke" connections, trans border fares can get tricky. A travel agent can save you a lot of time and bother but expect to pay a fee for their sourcing the information.

If you are shopping for an international airline ticket with a complex itinerary, a travel agent will find you the best fare and the best schedule. Agents have one very important secret left in their arsenal called a "consolidator." These are obscure companies that have operated in travel's back alleys for the past two decades, brokering the kind of airline deals the public cannot access.

As far as what travel dreams are made of — the once in a lifetime safari, Nile cruise or Nepali trek — the reality is that none of us can resist the urge to Google into the wee morning hours. After you've exhausted yourself, you may want to collect your notes and see a travel agent who knows even more on the subject. There are now specialists on every type of travel from gay cruising to girls-only adventure getaways.

Finally, the only certainty in travel is that everything changes. It's like the stock market — supply and demand continually effects pricing. So if you see a fare you think is fair, jump on it. Tomorrow it will all change.







CAVEAT EMPTOR

Insure your holidays — being stranded is no fun

BY BRUCE PARKINSON

IF YOU RECALL the disconsolate travellers left stranded when Zoom Airlines failed a few months ago, you may find yourself a bit nervous when booking holidays this winter. Or how about the demise of Jetsgo? Then there's XL Airways which recently imploded in Britain leaving more then 90,000 travellers stranded in destinations around the globe — it took over 200 special flights to bring them home.

> The good news is that Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia each have provincial travel industry funds and require travel agents to be licensed.

As airlines continue to be squeezed by fuel costs and tour operators scrape for margins in an increasingly competitive market, there's no question that yet more travel companies will feel the pinch. This doesn't mean you should think twice about travelling, only that you should insure your holiday investment.

The good news is that Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia each have provincial travel industry funds and require travel agents to be licensed. That means over 75% of Canadians are eligible for compensation if travel services purchased from registered travel agencies are not provided due to bankruptcy or insolvency of the retailer, wholesaler, airline or cruise line.

As many Zoom passengers discovered, if you book directly with an airline or cruise company and don't use a travel agent, the compensation funds can't protect you. Your best fallback position is to always purchase travel with a credit card. If you buy any product or service with a credit card and fail to receive what you purchased, you can get your money back. Should you find yourself stranded mid-trip, you'll have to find your own way home, but you'll be refunded the unused portion of your original purchase.

Other unforeseen situations can also impact the best laid plans. That's where travel insurance comes in. Should something occur to prevent you from leaving, or you experience health problems while you're away, or need to unexpectedly rush back home — these situations can be covered. Some insurance companies even offer policies that cover supplier failure.

The wisest approach is to book your trip with a travel agent. It's the agent's business to stay tuned to the latest travel rumblings and to avoid the risk of dealing with a shaky supplier. Experienced Manitoba agency owner Max Johnson, of The Great Canadian Travel Company, stopped selling Zoom months before it went under and even attempted to warn consumers through the media. Unfortunately, not enough people listened.

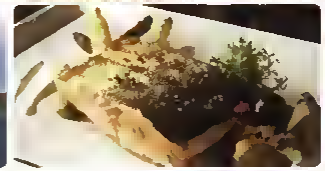
Rest assured that if something goes wrong and you've booked your trip with an agent, he or she will work to get you home quickly or make alternate arrangements. Holidays are precious but so is peace of mind.

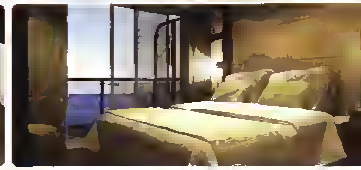
EXCLUSIVE TO MACLEAN'S READERS!
Book with Marlin Travel by Jan 31, 09 and receive up to $300 onboard credit per stateroom*

See the Beauty of Europe Aboard the Celebrity Solstice









A truly upscale cruise experience on board the **Brand New Celebrity Solstice℠**, offering 10 or 11 night Eastern Mediterranean sailings from Rome, Italy.
(May to November, 2009)

Includes: Roundtrip air from Toronto, cruise, entertainment, onboard meals and more!

13 NIGHT PACKAGE | 11 NIGHT CRUISE
SANTORINI, MYKONOS, ISTANBUL, KUSADASI (EPHESUS), ATHENS AND NAPLES

DEPART JUNE 13 | INSIDE CABIN CAT 10

$2799 Other sailing dates & categories available. Transportation/government fees, taxes and fuel supplement add $581. Departures from Montreal & Vancouver also available.

Extend your cruise package with a Celebrity Mediterranean Cruisetour and receive:
$300 on board credit per stateroom!
Limited time offer!

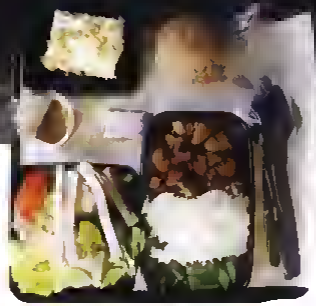
Celebrity Cruisetours introduce you to the subtle distinctions of life in each destination. Choose from three incredible land tours visiting Venice, Florence, Rome, Verona, The Italian Lakes, Madrid and Barcelona. Each of these tours offer travel by high speed train and motorcoach plus superb accommodations. *Just ask us for details.*

marlin travel
www.marlintravel.ca | 1.877.622.8014

transat HOLIDAYS

Celebrity Cruises Fuel Supplement of $10 per person per day is included in the above taxes and fees. Flights from Toronto via Air Transat. Valid for new bookings only. Price is per person based on double occupancy in lead name/category and will vary according to booking date, category and sailing date. Price and space subject to availability at time of booking and subject to change without notice. Taxes extra & taxes inclusive. †Certain restrictions apply. Departure flight is June 13 and sailing is June 15. Pre and post accommodation when requested due to flight schedules would be at an additional cost. Transfers not included. For complete details refer to the Transat Holidays 2008-2009 Cruise Brochure. Transat Holidays; 191 The West Mall, Suite 801, Etobicoke ON M9C 5K8. ON Reg. #50018486. **Marlin Travel Offer**: On-board credit is based on per stateroom and is only valid when an cruise package is purchased. Onboard credits based on $25 for ocean cabin, $50 for ocean view cabin, $75 for veranda cabin, $100 for all suites categories. Onboard credit offer is for new individual bookings issued from November 17, 2008 to January 31, 2009. Onboard credit cannot be applied towards gratuities or use in the casino. For Quebec residents: please call or visit our sales cabin. Club Voyages at 1-866-777-0808 or www.clubvoyages.com. ®™ Trademarks of AIR MILES International Trading. LP Used under license by LoyaltyOne, Inc. and Transat Distribution Canada Inc. Marlin Travel is a division of Transat Distribution Canada Inc. Head Office: 191 The West Mall, Suite 700, Etobicoke ON M9C 5K8. ON Reg. #50018486. BC Reg. 4278567. Quebec Permit Holder 4753141.





GOURMET FARE

Who needs stale pretzels? Get it together before you fly with tips from top chefs

"AIRLINE FOOD" has always been shorthand for a lousy meal. But now that the free vittles have disappeared, we miss them. We miss the aroma of pre-cooked chicken warming in the galley, the cart clickety-clacking down the aisle and the vision of a foil-covered dish landing on our wobbly table.

Why not join the growing ranks of gourmet brown baggers? **TakeOffeh.com** has asked top chefs from across the country for inspirational ideas on creating the ultimate carry-on meal. So next time you take to the skies, rustle up some gourmet fare to take with you — even if you're fresh out of shaved fennel.





Mark McEwan
One, Toronto

Albacore tuna sashimi and organic cherry tomatoes splashed with a dill and red wine vinaigretta and sprinkled with frisée and heirloom tomato chips could keep McEwan happy on board.

"Go for foods that are meant to be eaten at room temperature," and don't forget a demi-jar of foie gras that can be smeared on a baguette.



Penny Martin is a "seasoned" travel specialist with Travel Professionals International and also happens to be a top baker (www.sweetsadias.blogspot.com). Penny packs a roasted pepper and eggplant sandwich sprinkled with grated carrots and shaved parmesan on a ciabatta demi-baguette spread with spicy mango chutney.

"Take along a home-baked chocolate chip cookie," says Martin. "After all, at 35,000 feet you technically weigh less, so no need to worry about the extra calories!"





Lawrence Deneau
Il Mercato Trattoria, Halifax

Imagines a slow-roasted pork sandwich on aioli-rubbed fresh ciabatta heaped with Il Mercato's signature smoked mozzarella, a few crushed rosemary leaves and arugula served with a honey-drizzled pickled salad of peppers, pears, blackberries and pecans.

Deneau suggests balancing sweet, salty, sour and smoky flavours to rouse jetlagged taste buds.



Keith Froggett
Scaramouche, Toronto

Suggests a poached chicken breast on Ace multigrain bread, topped with avocado, hot pepper, fresh coriander, shaved fennel and a slathering of mayonnaise. On the side, pears, almonds and walnuts.

"You don't want anything too smelly," warns Froggett, hinting that passengers leave the blue cheese at home or risk conspicuous sniffing from fellow passengers.



James Walt
Araxi, Whistler

Leans toward a selection of mildly scented artisanal cheeses from B.C. like Moonstruck's "White Grace" accompanied with marinated artichoke salad, pink-lady apples, candied walnuts and slices of prosciutto and salami. For dessert, a milk chocolate fruit and nut bar.

"You want to choose items that don't require refrigeration and are easy to bring along," says Walt.

CHECK IT OUT

If catching an international flight, check the destination country's guidelines before packing, as meat and citrus items are often restricted

Swaying Palms, Invigorating Adventures and Heartwarming Smiles



Blend lazy relaxation with island excitement

Here in Antigua and Barbuda, we're famous for hundreds of pink and white silky sand beaches. Find your own private cove for two or a lively spot for family fun. But our islands offer more than just sand and surf!

Explore bustling city streets filled with welcoming faces. Enjoy galleries and museums, exotic dining, sporting activities and bird watching. Relax in your favourite style of accommodation – whether a quaint B&B, boutique hotel, all-inclusive resort or luxury villa. A customized vacation experience awaits you – just a 4 1/2-hour non-stop flight from Toronto.

For insider info on island highlights and things to do, simply contact us.

Antigua and Barbuda Tourism Office
60 St. Clair Avenue East, Suite 601
Toronto, Ontario M4T 1N5

416-961-3085
info@antigua-barbuda-ca.com
www.antigua-barbuda.ca

ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA
The beach is just the beginning



YOU CAN TAKE IT WITH YOU!

Carry-on kits help weary travellers look and feel fresh

THE NIGHTMARISH possibility of lost luggage means carry-on tote bags filled to the brim with every imaginable item from eye balm to pyjamas. However, current limits on gels and liquids test even the most fastidious packer when it comes to maintaining your skin care while in the desert-like atmosphere of an airplane. Fear not. Cosmetics makers are squeezing this market opportunity into must-have carry-on kits for men and women, all below the 100 ml/100 g (3.4 oz) limit.

To help you get on your way, **TakeOffeh.com** road tested four compliant kits to see which are worth taking along and which are best left behind.

BLISS LEMON SPA SINKSIDE SIX-PACK



This citrus-infused travel kit features a mini bar of soap and five 30 ml bath and shower products in a cute clear pouch — perfect for zooming through airport security. While the floral scented Fabulous Foaming Face Wash is a bit saccharine, the other products have a pleasant lemon and sage smell. Supershine Shampoo and Conditioning Rinse live up to their shiny promise but Body Butter could be bigger — one post-shower application emptied half the tube. **$28**

BENEFIT COSMETICS JUSTINE CASE



Benefit's mini-beautifier kit features a trio of 2.5 ml bottled makeup and a 2.2 g foundation tray in a funky box that's handily inset with a mirror. The "foundation faker" evens out skin tone effectively but Eyecon's brightening eye cream is too sheer to tackle travel-weary dark circles. Rose-scented Benetint adds a pretty flush to pale cheeks and lips while California Kissin' minty lip gloss both freshens breath and makes lips appear brighter. You'll still need to pack your own face wash and moisturizer. **$38**

JACK BLACK ON-THE-ROAD TRAVEL PACK



This kit features six 88 ml multi-purpose face and body products in rugged scents. Wheat-protein and panthenol-infused All-Over Wash cleans face, hair and body while the Industrial Strength Hand Healer and Face Buff products work all over the body. Double-Duty Face Moisturizer and Intense Therapy Lip Balm provide practical SPF coverage as they attack dryness. You'll have to slip these man-sized products from their simple black bag into a clear re-sealable one to pass through security. And if you're serious about carry-on packing, you may want to embrace your stubble and leave the kit's Beard Lube Conditioning Shave at home since razors aren't allowed onboard. **$74**

SKYN ICELAND DETOX KIT FOR STRESSED SKIN



Nestled inside a translucent ice blue case are four 15 and 30 ml facial products imbued with "biospheric complex." Glacial Face Wash lathers up nicely with only a dime-sized amount while minty Arctic Face Mist refreshes. The Antidote daytime lotion is quickly absorbed into mildly dehydrated skin but the richer Oxygen Infusion Night Cream is more effective at tackling post-flight dryness. **$48.50**

All items are available at Sephora stores and other retail outlets.

WIN!
Visit **TakeOffeh.com**, click on *CONTESTS* and tell us which carry-on item you can't fly without — you might WIN a gift bag from Sephora!

RBC Royal Bank®



Receive 15,000
RBC Rewards® bonus points†

Spend more time growing your business and less time organizing it.



The RBC® Visa Platinum Business Avion® card. Get the card that helps keep your business and personal expenses organized, so you can spend less time sorting and more time growing your business. And if that isn't enough, it also helps establish credit in the name of your business. Plus, sign up today and get 15,000 RBC Rewards® points that you can put towards your next getaway. **1-800 ROYAL® 2-0 rbc.com/businessvisa**

CREATE MORE TIME FOR YOUR BUSINESS.

®Registered trademarks of Royal Bank of Canada. RBC and Royal Bank are registered trademarks of Royal Bank of Canada. ® Registered trademarks of Visa International Service Association. Used under license. †In order to receive the 15,000 welcome bonus RBC Rewards points offer, your application must be received and approved by us within offer eligibility dates of September 1 to December 31, 2008. Supplementary cards, as well as existing RBC Royal Bank Visa Platinum Business Avion cardholders are not eligible for this offer. Upon enrollment, 15,000 welcome bonus points will appear on your first Visa statement. This offer may not be used in conjunction with or combined with any other offer. Avion Air Travel Rewards, redemptions from the Avion Air Travel Redemption Schedule are for economy class seats only and start at 15,000 points for a short haul flight. For general redemption terms, conditions and restrictions, visit the RBC Rewards Avion Terms and Conditions section at www.rbcrewards.com

OUT OF THIS WORLD

TakeOffeh.com provides cutting-edge information for demanding travellers

See the Travel Market at **TakeOffeh.com** for these great offers & more!



The Big Buy In
Visit exciting Dubai where modern architecture is taken to a whole new level
Vision 2000



Aur ra B
Discover the magical northern lights in Canada
Brewster



Roy
Make Royal Plantation your home for the holidays
Collacutt Travel



Bes Africa
A popular tour which visits many of South Africa's highlights
Goway Travel



This season take a sailing adventure to remote areas of the Caribbean on the tall ship Caledonia
Canadian Sailing Expeditions



Be one of only 298 guests aboard the Silver Cloud from Stockholm
Silversea Cruises

YOU LOVE where you live and work but sometimes you just have to escape the daily grind. And so you begin your quest to find somewhere unusual, a destination that can soothe your frayed nerves but keep you interested. The thought of spending hours surfing the web is reminiscent of what you do everyday. If only there was one website that provided honest input and fresh ideas... have you visited TakeOffeh.com? We are focussed on offering inspiring travel options directly from travel providers across the country. Ever considered Dubai's captivating desert fringed with the world's most striking architecture? How about kayaking in Belize where crystal clear waters afford views of marine life you thought only available in an aquarium? Maybe you've dreamt of one day seeing the stunning colours of the aurora borealis up close and personal? It's always "bon voyage" at **TakeOffeh.com** and you don't even have to pack your suitcase to visit!

...IT OUT.

You'll find new travel offers every day in the **TakeOffeh.com** Travel Market

SILVERSEA®

Sumptuous ocean-view suites,
80% with private verandas and the luxurious freedom of an all-inclusive lifestyle featuring complimentary fine wines and spirits served throughout the ship and included gratuities
Distinctive European styling reflected in every detail, from uncompromising service to exquisite gourmet dining
Exotic destinations, exclusive explorations, and uniquely enriching cultural connections
This is the secret allure of ocean travel
This is Silversea

Book now and save up to 50% on a wide variety of 2009 sailing dates.



Call your Travel Professional or visit www.silversea.com for details

A gift to you: holiday sales start early

BY JASON KIRBY • Recently, the Amalgamated Order of Real Bearded Santas put their white-haired heads together to tackle a looming problem. The group represents about 700 St. Nicks for hire, and with the economy in a tailspin, some Santas have seen their bookings plunge by 50 per cent. When even the old guy himself has been struck down by the recession Grinch, it's no wonder retailers are feeling spooked.



EVEN SANTAS are suffering as retailers predict a grim holiday

In a recent research report, Perry Caicco, an analyst at CIBC World Markets, predicted the fourth quarter of 2008 will be the worst in over two decades, based on discussions with retailers. Shortly after, U.S. retail sales figures for October came out showing a 2.8 per cent month-over-month drop—the largest since records began in 1992. Meanwhile, here in Canada, Deloitte & Touche has just released a survey showing that 40 per cent of Canadians plan to be a Scrooge this season and cut back on their spending.

In the U.S., some retailers are already announcing mammoth sales to kick off the holiday shopping season. Saks Fifth Avenue is currently offering 40 per cent off apparel, Neiman Marcus is offering the same off new arrivals, and a recent study found that 45 per cent of retailers are planning big discounts for "Black Friday," the day after the American Thanksgiving. Even in Canada, where the economy has proven remarkably resilient, stores are following suit.

"It's already happening here, I'm seeing some sporting goods retailers in Vancouver offering 50 per cent off of everything in the store," says David Ian Gray, a retail consultant with dig360. "It's sort of a panic button effect." Last week Sears held a two-day "surprise" sale with prices on many products slashed between 25 and 40 per cent. Gray says there will be more bargains to come.

The problem for some retailers is that inventories were ordered months before the financial collapse. But even stores that anticipated the slowdown and scaled back are being hit. "All it takes is for one store that made a mistake to start deep discounting," says Gray, "and then everyone has to do something." M

A nuclear reactor the size of a shed

BY BARBARA RIGHTON • It sounds like the stuff of science fiction: a nuclear power plant roughly the size of a garden shed that can be delivered on a tractor-trailer and provide electricity for 20,000 homes. But according to John "Grizz" Deal, president of Hyperion Power Generation in Los Alamos, N.M., the Hyperion Power Module (HPM) is for real. His company, which started up two years ago, plans to produce the reactor within five years and he already has an order from TES, a Czech generator company, for six units.

Deal says the idea for the HPM came from nuclear physicist Otis Peterson, who began to work on it in the mid-1990s at the Los Alamos National Laboratory. Peterson built on existing nuclear technology to create the heat source, then refined it with heat transfer plates and pipes, allowing the unit to power a steam generator.

The result is a mini-reactor that is safe, factory-sealed and contains no weapons-grade uranium. The units only need to be refuelled once every six or seven years and they cost about US$30 million each. They're designed to be buried 10 m underground, encased in cement and lead. "This is not your father's nuclear reactor," says Deal.

The original plan was for a mini-reactor that could power water filtration systems in Africa, but now Hyperion is looking to other markets, such as the military and the Alberta



NUCLEAR PLANTS are usually huge, but the HPM fits on a truck

oil sands. Projects in the oil sands currently "use natural gas to create steam to melt bitumen to get the heavy oil out, and it's very expensive and inefficient," Deal says. "Our solution is 80 per cent cheaper." The only problem, he says, is that companies like Shell and Chevron are afraid of the "N word."

Currently, Hyperion is looking for plant locations in eastern Europe and Japan. Deal says he's even considering an offer from a government contractor to locate in Newfoundland. Plant construction, however, is still at least a couple of years away. M

Insurance executives gone wild!

BY KATE LUNAU • Last week, the U.S. Treasury announced it would double the taxpayer-funded bailout for troubled American insurer AIG. It has now committed an incredible US$152 billion—likely the largest-ever government rescue of a private firm. But that same week, instead of laying low and soberly reflecting on how their company got into such a mess, senior AIG executives were spotted frolicking poolside at a posh Phoenix resort by a local TV news crew.

This isn't the first time AIG executives have been caught fiddling while their company burns. In September, just days after the U.S. government rescued AIG with its initial $85-billion loan, the company sent its top brass on a $440,000 retreat to a tony California resort. And after another $37.8-billion, taxpayer-funded infusion, AIG paid for an $86,000 English hunt. The latest seminar reportedly cost $343,000. This time—presumably to avoid detection—staff at the Pointe Hilton Squaw Peak Resort were instructed to post no company signs. "We can't even say the word [AIG]," one hotel employee said.



AIG SNAGGED billions while its execs hung out by the pool

When the news broke, the company swiftly went on the defensive. "It is essential for AIG to conduct seminars of this kind to keep independent financial planners abreast of investment products and services," wrote spokesperson Nicholas J. Ashooh in a press release, adding that the company has been reimbursed for over 90 per cent of the cost by event sponsors and attendees. Ashooh also notes that company employees were directed to cut back last month, and since then more than 160 events have been cancelled.

Still, Ramy Elitzur, professor of financial analysis at the University of Toronto, is critical of AIG's "business as usual" approach. "The optics are horrible," he says. "It will come back to haunt them." Elitzur predicts that things will change with Barack Obama in the White House. "The new chief of staff, Rahm Emanuel, worked as an investment banker. This guy will take no prisoners," he says. "When they come to the new administrators, they're going to get a swift kick in the butt." M

GETTY CP AMY STRYCULA



IN THE FUTURE IT WILL GET ITS POWER FROM A PLUG OVERNIGHT INSTEAD OF A PUMP DURING THE DAY

It's not sci-fi. Electric cars will be on the road sooner than you think. They will get you where you're going during the day. Then they will refuel with electricity at night when you plug them in. And we all want that electricity to be cleaner. So where will we get that cleaner electricity? We'll get it from renewables like hydroelectric, wind and solar. And we'll get it from nuclear that runs day in and day out, rain or shine, 365 days a year. We'll get most of it from Ontario Power Generation. Just as we always have.

Want to know more about Ontario's cleaner electricity future? Visit opg.com

GM Canada

ONTARIO POWER GENERATION

VISIT CAMPUSES FROM COAST TO COAST.
NOW AVAILABLE ON DEMAND!

FREE
VISIT TODAY



MACLEAN'S ONCAMPUS
VIRTUAL FAIR

NO EXPENSES. NO TRAVEL. NO LINE-UPS.

Maclean's OnCampus Virtual Fair makes choosing a school even easier by giving you direct access to all the information you need from Canadian universities and colleges–all in one place, all from the convenience of your desktop.

VISIT UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE BOOTHS
WATCH UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE PRESENTATIONS
GET EXPERT EDUCATION AND CAREER ADVICE
HEAR HOW SUCCESSFUL CANADIANS DID IT

- Giller Prize-winning novelist and physician VINCENT LAM
- Founder of Doctors Without Borders RICHARD HEINZL
- Student and author of *What's Wrong with University And How to Make it Work for You Anyway* JEFF RYBAK
- *Wealthy Barber* author DAVID CHILTON
- Canada AM host SEAMUS O'REGAN
- Chef and musician ROGER MOOKING
- Astronaut JULIE PAYETTE
- COLIN MACDONALD of the Trews

ADMISSIONS INFO • SCHOLARSHIP INFO

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH vervegirl FUEL MACLEANS.CA
NATIONAL SPONSORS PAY AS YOU GO ROGERS
PARTICIPATING ASSOCIATIONS

FIND THE RIGHT SCHOOL FOR YOU AT WWW.MACLEANS.CA/ONCAMPUSFAIR

ONCAMPUS VIRTUAL FAIR
ROGERS



'Being successful is all about whether you have the skills to impose your will on the world'

MALCOLM GLADWELL, AUTHOR OF 'THE TIPPING POINT,' TALKS WITH KATE FILLION ABOUT PLANE CRASHES AND THE MINIMUM IQ FOR SUCCESS

Q *Your main argument in your new book,* Outliers, *is that there's no such thing as a self made man, super achievers are successful because of their circumstances, their families and their appetite for hard work. Isn't that what most people believe anyway, that success is learned and earned?*

A: We pay lip service to ecological factors, but don't appreciate just how enormously significant outside forces—the generation we're born into, or the particular cultural legacies we inherit—are in determining success. If we're so convinced of the importance of these kinds of variables, then why do people jump up and down every time there's an attempt to even the playing field? Why does affirmative action remain incredibly controversial?

Q: *You say that class confers a long lasting advantage and gives privileged kids a leg up, but not just because their families have money.*

A: There's much more to it. A wonderful sociologist named Annette Lareau identifies profound differences in parenting styles. She calls the upper-class parenting style "concerted cultivation": parents take control of their children's psychological and intellectual development and encourage them to be activists in the way they interrelate with adults and institutions. The other style is called "natural growth." She notes that parents in poorer families have a very passive attitude toward their kids' development, they really sit back and allow them to find their own way. It can produce wonderful, warm, sweet, creative people, but does not prepare them for a world in which they're competing against kids who have been schooled since the earliest days in how to get their way. Being successful is all about whether you have the skills necessary to impose your will on the world. That's really what class advantage is: being taught the skills necessary to make sense of institutions.

Q: *You also cite a study showing there's a significant learning gap over the summer. Poor kids have fun but don't learn anything, while the better-off ones keep learning and moving ahead. Is your point that if you don't come from money, you're cooked?*

A: We tell this comforting story that says anyone can make it all by themselves, and the effect is to relieve us of responsibility for taking steps to help people on the bottom rung. I'm trying to call attention to the fact that that story is a lie. It's exceedingly difficult to make it up from the bottom, and it's getting harder.

Q: *Have you been radicalized? This book*

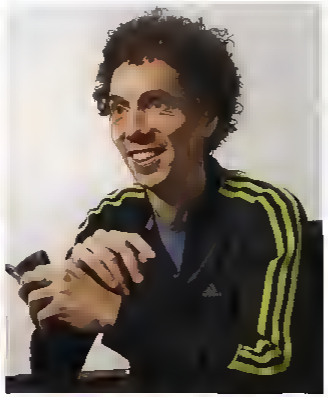
seems far more political than anything you've written before

A: It is more political. Part of it is an awareness that I have a pulpit, which I never realized I had, and if you have an opportunity to engage the attention of lots and lots of people, it would be a shame not to use it. I don't want to write another book about sneakers when I have an opportunity to say something a lot more meaningful

Q: *What does that feel like, being a guru?*







A: Oh, I wouldn't call myself a guru

Q: *Come on! You sell millions of books, captains of industry pay a lot of money to hear you speak, and as you said, you have a pulpit*

A: I will only say that it is a very nice feeling to know that things you write will be taken seriously. But do I find it all a little absurd? Yeah, I think anyone would. You go into writing expecting to be anonymous

Q: *Why do you keep coming back to IQ as a topic?*

A: Because everyone always says, and this drives me crazy, "Yes, we know that IQ is not the be-all and end-all," and yet we continue to act as if [it is].

Q: *You mean by restricting access to top universities to those with high scores on standardized tests like the SATs?*

A: Yes. They're saying, "You must be above a certain IQ even to be considered for admission." That is an intellectually and morally bankrupt notion.

Q: *But there is some relationship between IQ and ability, isn't there?*

A: There's a *threshold*, and for those who are above it, it ceases to be important. You need to have an IQ of about 110 in order to be able to be, say, a professional. And you need to have an IQ of about 120 in order to be capable of society's most challenging cognitive feats, like getting a Nobel Prize

Q: *Where do those numbers come from?*

A: Here's a classic study: take a pool of 200 very prominent scientists and look at their IQs. You'll notice that all their IQs are above 120, but the person who has an IQ of 120 is as likely to have won a Nobel as a person with an IQ of 180. So it's important to be above that threshold of 120, but once you are, IQ ceases to be relevant. But at a lot of elite institutions, they're trying to make distinctions on the basis of IQ in that range above 120, when no distinctions are possible

'To ensure the child born in December has an equal shot, change rules about hockey eligibility'

Q: *You say that distinctions are possible in sports, that achievement in hockey, for instance, is related to how close an individual's birthday is to an eligibility cut-off date. The more mature kids in a cohort are more likely to make the team and go on to more success. Wayne Gretzky being the best example, with a January birthday. So what do you do if you have a talented kid who was born in December?*

A: There's nothing you can do. We have to stop imagining that every act of unfairness, every disadvantage, can just be fixed with a little pluck and elbow grease. Wrong. The only way to ensure that the Canadian child born in December has an equal shot as kids born earlier in the year is to change the rules about hockey eligibility, and to create two or even three tiers of age-class hockey, arranged by birthdate

Q: *Wouldn't that be expensive?*

A: No. You go to Kitchener-Waterloo, where I grew up, and there are dozens of age-class hockey teams. Dozens and dozens! Let's say you've got 10 teams of nine-year-olds playing hockey in Kitchener-Waterloo—just arrange them into two separate leagues. It's an administrative change. And even if it was expensive, why isn't that an investment we would be willing to make? I don't mean just for hockey, but for everything. If it costs a little extra to ensure equality of opportunity, isn't that the best possible use of our resources?

Q: *You posit an ethnic theory of plane crashes, thus pilots in some cultures are more likely to have accidents.*

A: I want people to think about the ways in which the cultures we inherit affect the way we do our jobs. Looking at the role culture plays in plane crashes, in making pilots good or bad, struck me as the kind of example that would get my point across efficiently. One of the key components in plane crashes is this idea of power distance, that is to say, the willingness of subordinates to speak up to superiors. In cultures where it is not easy for a subordinate to speak up, you have plane crashes, because planes are only flown safely when co-pilots feel free to speak up to their captains. I didn't put this in the book, but someone I was talking to said, "The planes everyone flies are designed by Westerners, principally Americans. We have embedded in the design of an airplane our own cultural assumptions that both the pilot and co-pilot are capable of speaking freely and equally about how best to fly the plane, so you divide up the responsibilities equally." It's not all that surprising that you get plane crashes when you have pilots at the controls who have very different cultural assumptions

Q: *So are there airlines you wouldn't fly?*

A: I wouldn't fly a regional airline in China, and there are some Middle Eastern cultures that have very high power distance problems, too. Korea had a very significant problem with plane crashes that they have since addressed, by trying to change their pilots' culture

Q: *Interestingly, in some of the countries you just mentioned, kids are noticeably better at math than North American kids are.*

A: High-school kids in Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore—principally East Asian kids, I mean—outperform kids from other parts of the world by an enormous amount.

Q: *Why?*

A: My explanation is a cultural one. We have a variety of evidence that suggests that when an Asian school kid sits down with a math problem, the assumption is that he or she can solve the problem simply by trying hard enough, while the Western kid assumes that the problem can be solved only if he or she possesses some innate, mathematical gift. I think that difference in attitude has to do with the very different patterns of agriculture practised in the rice belt in Asia and in the West. Specifically, the cognitive and physical demands of raising rice are so extreme—

Q: *Growing rice is cognitively demanding?*

A: Oh yeah. An Asian rice farmer is required not just to work harder than his or her European, medieval counterpart, but also has far more decisions to make. You do a thousand years of that and you get very different cultural habits that, as it turns out, are beautifully suited to the task of tackling calculus.

Q: *But those countries have enormous urban populations. A lot of those high-achieving kids must come from families who haven't set foot in a rice paddy for generations.*

A: Cultural habits are passed down from generation to generation, and they persist even after the conditions that spawned them are long gone.

Q: *Obviously, these are the kinds of generalizations or stereotypes that upset people*

A: Generalizations about cultures are useful when they are used with the intent to help, not harm, and when they're specific. If I can learn something about how to teach math in the inner city by making a generalization about Asian culture, I'm going to do it. We would be wilfully blinding ourselves if we didn't take culture into account.

Q: *Speaking of culture, do you think Canadians and Americans define success differently?*

A: I'd like to think Canadians aren't as obsessed with the cult of individualism. When Jeb Bush, George's brother, was running for governor of Florida, he referred to himself as a self-made man. This is a guy whose father was president, his grandfather was a powerful investment banker and his other grandfather was a U.S. senator! You'd be laughed out of town if you tried to make that argument in Canada. M

THIS PAGE AND PREVIOUS: PHOTOGRAPHS BY MACKENZIE STROH

How to be a success

Talent plus practice, practice, practice—and being in the right place at the right time

Canadian journalist Malcolm Gladwell, 45, has made a career of finding secret patterns behind everyday happenings. His new book, Outliers *(Little, Brown), argues that the roots of high achievement lie as much in preparation and luck as in talent. Excerpts from* Outliers

BY MALCOLM GLADWELL

In 1971 the University of Michigan had one of the most advanced computer science programs in the world, and thousands of students passed through it, the most famous of whom was a gawky teenager named Bill Joy, who came to the university the year the Computer Center opened. He was 16. He was tall and very thin, with a mop of unruly hair. He had been voted "Most Studious Student" by his graduating class at North Farmington High School, outside Detroit, which, as he puts it, meant that he was a "no date nerd." He had thought he might end up as a biologist or a mathematician. But late in his freshman year, he stumbled across the Computer Center—and he was hooked.

From that point on, the Computer Center was his life. He programmed whenever he could. Joy got a job with a computer science professor so he could program over the summer. In 1975, he enrolled in graduate school at the University of California at Berkeley. There, he buried himself even deeper in the world of computer software. During the oral exams for his Ph.D., he made up a particularly complicated algorithm on the fly that, as one of his many admirers has written, "so stunned his examiners [that] one of them later compared the experience to 'Jesus confounding his elders.'"

Working in collaboration with a small group of programmers, Joy took on the task of rewriting UNIX, a software system developed by AT&T for mainframe computers. Joy's version was very good. It was so good, in fact, that it became—and remains—the operating system on which literally millions of computers around the world run. "If you put your Mac in that funny mode where you can see the code," Joy says, "I see things that I remember typing in 25 years ago." And do you know who wrote much of the software that allows you to access the Internet? Bill Joy. He later went on to co-found Sun Microsystems and rewrite another computer language—Java.

Joy's story looks like the triumph of pure genius. But the problem with this view is that the closer psychologists look at the careers of the gifted, the smaller the role innate talent seems to play and the bigger the role preparation seems to play.

Exhibit A in the talent argument is a study done in the early 1990s by the psychologist K. Anders Ericsson and two colleagues at Berlin's elite Academy of Music. With the help of the academy's professors, they divided the school's violinists into three groups. In the first group were the stars, the students with the potential to become world-class soloists. In the second were those judged to be merely "good." In the third were students who were unlikely to ever play professionally and who intended to be music teachers in the public school system. All of the violinists were then asked the same question: over the course of your entire career, ever since you first picked up the violin, how many hours have you practised?

Everyone from all three groups started playing at roughly the same age, around five years old. In those first few years, everyone practised roughly the same amount, about

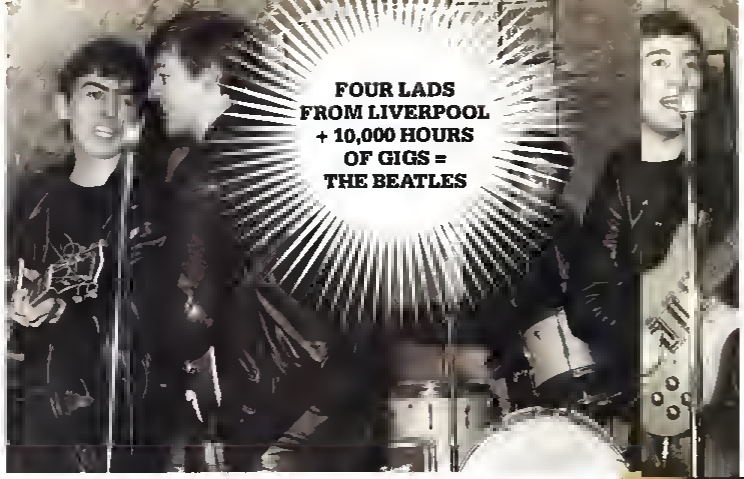
two or three hours a week But when the students were around the age of eight, real differences started to emerge The students who would end up the best in their class began to practise more than everyone else six hours a week by age nine, eight hours a week by age 12, 16 hours a week by age 14, and up and up, until by the age of 20 they were practising—that is, purposefully and single-mindedly playing their instruments with the intent to get better—well over 30 hours a week. In fact, by the age of 20, the elite performers had each totalled 10,000 hours of practice By contrast, the merely good students had totalled 8,000 hours, and the future music teachers had totalled just over 4,000 hours

The striking thing about Ericsson's study is that he and his colleagues couldn't find any "naturals," musicians who floated effortlessly to the top while practising a fraction of the time their peers did Nor could they find any "grinds," people who worked harder than everyone else, yet just didn't have what it takes to break the top ranks Their research suggests that once a musician has enough ability to get into a top music school, the thing that distinguishes one performer from another is how hard he or she works That's it. And what's more, the people at the very top don't work just harder or even much harder than everyone else They work much, *much* harder

The idea that excellence at performing a complex task requires a critical minimum level of practice surfaces again and again in studies of expertise In fact, researchers have settled on what they believe is the magic number for true expertise. 10,000 hours

"The emerging picture from such studies is that 10,000 hours of practice is required to achieve the level of mastery associated with being a world-class expert—in anything," writes the neurologist Daniel Levitin "In study after study, of composers, basketball players, fiction writers, ice skaters, concert pianists, chess players, master criminals, and what have you, this number comes up again and again. No one has yet found a case in which true world-class expertise was accomplished in less time It seems that it takes the brain this long to assimilate all that it needs to know to achieve true mastery."

And that's why elite athletic squads have practically no one on their rosters born after September 1 A late-born hockey prodigy doesn't get chosen for the all-star team as an eight-year old because he's too small, compared to his January- and February-born peers So he doesn't get the extra practice. And without that extra practice, he has no chance at hitting 10,000 hours by the time professional hockey teams start looking for players And without 10,000 hours under his belt, there is no way he can ever master the skills necessary to play at the top level Practice isn't the thing you do once you're good. It's the thing you do that makes you good



The interesting thing about 10,000 hours is that it's all but impossible to reach by yourself

The other interesting thing about that 10,000 hours, of course, is that 10,000 hours is an enormous amount of time It's all but impossible to reach that number all by yourself by the time you're a young adult. You have to have parents who encourage and support you. You can't be poor, because if you have to hold down a part-time job on the side to help make ends meet, there won't be time left in the day to practise enough In fact, most people can reach that number only if they get into some kind of special program—like a hockey all-star squad—or if they get some kind of extraordinary opportunity that gives them a chance to put in those hours

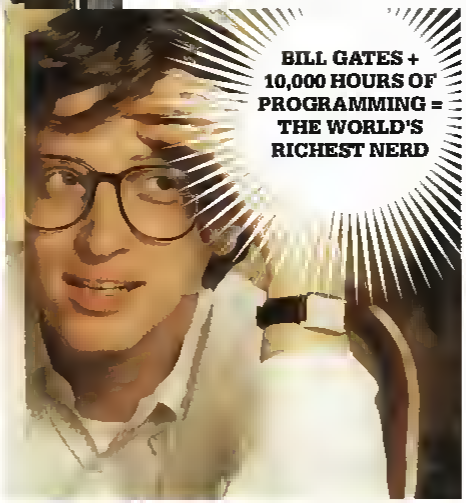
So, back to Bill Joy It's 1971 He's tall and gawky and 16 years old He's the math whiz, the kind of student that schools like MIT and Caltech and the University of Waterloo attract by the hundreds He has talent by the truckload But that's not the only consideration. It never is Just look at the stream of opportunities that came Bill Joy's way Because he happened to go to a far-sighted school like the University of Michigan, he was able to practise on a computer system that operated by time-sharing instead of punch cards, because the university was willing to spend the money to keep the Computer Center open 24 hours, he could stay up all night, and because he was able to put in so many hours, by the time he happened to be presented with the opportunity to rewrite UNIX, he was up to the task. Bill Joy was brilliant He wanted to learn. That was a big part of it But before he could become an expert, someone had to give him the opportunity to learn how to be an expert

"At Michigan, I was probably programming eight or 10 hours a day," he went on "By the time I was at Berkeley I was doing it day and night I was proficient by my second year there That's when I wrote programs that are still in use today, 30 years later" He paused for a moment to do the math in his head—which for Bill Joy doesn't take very long Michigan in 1971. Programming in earnest by sophomore year. Add in the summers, then the days and nights in his first year at Berkeley "So, so maybe ... 10,000 hours?" he said, finally. "That's about right."

Is the 10,000-hour rule a general rule of success? If we scratch below the surface of every great achiever, do we always find the equivalent of the Michigan Computer Center or the hockey all-star team—some sort of special opportunity for practice?

Consider the Beatles. John Lennon and Paul McCartney first started playing together in 1957, seven years prior to landing in America And if you look more closely at those years of preparation, you'll find an experience that, in the context of hockey players and Bill Joy and world-class violinists, sounds awfully familiar In 1960, while they were still just a struggling high-school rock band, they were invited to play in Hamburg, Germany

"Hamburg in those days did not have rock 'n' roll music clubs It had strip clubs," says Philip Norman, who wrote the Beatles biography *Shout!* "There was one particular club owner called Bruno, who had the idea of bringing in rock groups They had this formula, a huge non-stop show, hour after hour Many of the bands that played in Hamburg were from Liverpool," Norman went on. "It was an accident. Bruno went to London to look for bands But he happened to meet an entrepreneur from Liverpool, and he arranged to send some bands over



ROBERT BURROUGHS/GETTY

MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY

ones, at every one. In Hamburg, we had to play for eight hours, so we really had to find a new way of playing"

The Beatles ended up travelling to Hamburg five times between 1960 and the end of 1962. On the first trip, they played 106 nights, five or more hours a night On their second trip, they played 92 times On their third trip, they played 48 times, for a total of 172 hours on stage. The last two Hamburg gigs, in November and December of 1962, involved 90 hours of performing. All told, they performed for 270 nights in just over a year and a half. By the time they had their first burst of success in 1964, in fact, they had performed live an estimated 1,200 times Do you know how extraordinary that is? Most bands today don't perform 1,200 times in their entire careers. The Hamburg crucible is one of the things that set the Beatles apart

Let's now turn to the story of a Seattle kid in an elite private school Bill Gates was midway through Grade 8 at Lakeside school when the Mothers' Club started a computer club "[They] did a rummage sale every year, and there was always the question of what the money would go to," Gates remembers. "Some went to the summer program, where inner city kids would come up to the campus. Some of it would go for teachers That year, they put $3,000 into a computer terminal down in this funny little room that we subsequently took control of It was kind of an amazing thing" It was an "amazing thing," of course, because this was 1968. Most *colleges* didn't have computer clubs in the 1960s From that moment forward, Gates lived in the computer room. He and a number of others began to teach themselves how to use this strange new device

Eventually the Beatles made a connection not just with Bruno but with other club owners as well. They kept going back because they got a lot of alcohol and a lot of sex"

And what was so special about Hamburg? The sheer amount of time the band was forced to play. Here is John Lennon, in an interview after the Beatles disbanded, talking about the band's performances at a Hamburg strip club called the Indra: "We got better and got more confidence We couldn't help it with all the experience playing all night long It was handy them being foreign. We had to try even harder, put our heart and soul into it, to get ourselves over. In Liverpool, we'd only ever done one-hour sessions, and we just used to do our best numbers, the same

Then a group of programmers at the University of Washington formed an outfit called Computer Center Corporation (or C-Cubed) As luck would have it, one of the founders of the firm—Monique Rona—had a son at Lakeside, a year ahead of Gates Would the Lakeside computer club, Rona wondered, like to test out the company's software programs on the weekends in exchange for free programming time? Absolutely! After school, Gates took the bus to the C-Cubed offices and programmed long into the evening

C-Cubed eventually went bankrupt, so Gates and his friends began hanging around the computer centre at the University of Washington Before long, they latched on to an outfit called ISI (Information Sciences Inc.), which agreed to let them have free computer time in exchange for working on a piece of software that could be used to automate company payrolls In one seven month period in 1971, Gates and his cohorts ran up 1,575 hours of computer time on the ISI mainframe, which averages out to eight hours a day, seven days a week.

"It was my obsession," Gates says of his early high-school years "I'd leave at night, after my bedtime. I could walk up to the University of Washington from my house. Or I'd take the bus That's why I'm always so generous to the university, because they let me steal so much computer time" (Years later, Gates's mother said, "We always wondered why it was so hard for him to get up in the morning") The five years from eighth grade through the end of high school were Bill Gates's Hamburg, and by any measure, he was presented with an even more extraordinary series of opportunities than Bill Joy

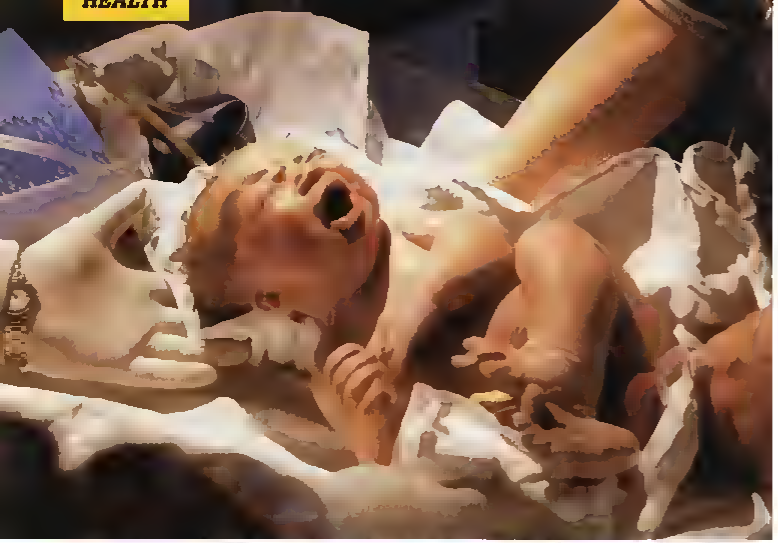
And what did virtually all of those opportunities have in common? They gave Bill Gates extra time to practise. By the time Gates dropped out of Harvard after his sophomore year to try his hand at his own software company, he'd been programming practically non stop for seven consecutive years. He was *way* past 10,000 hours. How many teenagers in the world had the kind of experience Gates had? "If there were 50 in the world, I'd be stunned," he says "I had a better exposure to software development at a young age than I think anyone did in that period of time, and all because of an incredibly lucky series of events" M

From Outliers *by Malcolm Gladwell Copyright © 2008 by Malcolm Gladwell. Reprinted by permission of Little, Brown and Co All rights reserved.*



ITALY: BREEZY STRATEGY WINS SOCCER GAME

Sicilian soccer team Calcio Catania managed to score a goal against Turin on the weekend when three players dropped their shorts to their knees to block the Turin goalie's view of the kick The team won 3-2, but a former referee coordinator decried the strategy, which Catania has been practising, as "unsportsmanlike and in bad taste." Catania's manager, Pietro Lo Monaco, disagreed "I don't see where the problem is Good taste is relative"



NOT TOO POSH TO PUSH. Midwife-mania is partly a response to the medicalization of the modern birth

A MIDWIFE CRISIS

Not enough doctors, not enough midwives: it's a bad time to have a baby in Canada

BY LIANNE GEORGE • Joanne Jacyk, a 31-year old Toronto-based environmental engineer, was all of five weeks pregnant with her first child when she picked up the phone to call a midwife—only to find that she was too late. "They were already full for my due date," she says. "I thought, 'I just got my blood test!' I basically called as fast as I could." Anxious, Jacyk got online, found a list of every midwifery clinic in the Greater Toronto Area, and phoned them all. "When I started getting calls back saying, 'We can't take you,' I got really upset," she says. "I didn't realize how badly I wanted a midwife until I thought the option wasn't there."

There's a joke circulating among the new mommy set in Ontario, one of seven provinces where midwifery services are now or will soon be publicly funded: if you think you might be pregnant, first you call the midwife, *then* you pee on the stick. Jacyk, now the mother of a healthy three month-old boy, was one of the lucky ones. Eventually, persistence and fortuitous planetary alignment landed her a placement. But last year in Ontario, 40 per cent of pregnant women who sought out midwifery care—roughly 6,000 of them—were turned away. Demand has so outstripped supply that in some parts of the province, finding a midwife is harder than securing the kid a spot in a decent daycare.

For many people, the word "midwife" still evokes patchouli incense and homemade yogourt. But midwives' growing popularity, fuelled almost entirely by word of mouth, reflects the mainstream's rapidly changing perception of their profession. "We generally have waiting lists every month," says Andrea Lennox, a registered practitioner at Kensington Midwives in Toronto and vice-president of the College of Midwives of Ontario.

Because there are only 400 registered midwives to serve the entire province, savvy mothers-to be have taken to "strategizing" to secure a coveted spot, says Raquel Parra, the clinic's office administrator. For instance, if they don't live within the clinic's catchment area, they'll lie about their address. They'll lie about their intention to have a home birth (which well-informed women know places them higher up on the waiting list). And from time to time, they'll fudge their due dates. "There are months in the year that you're more likely to get a midwife," says Parra. "December is really difficult because of the holidays. They know this so they'll call me and give me a date several weeks earlier, and we'll find out later when they do an ultrasound." For midwives themselves, the impossibility of helping everyone who wants help can be stressful. "I know some midwives, when they're going to parties, they lie and say they do something else for a living," says Lennox, "because they just get bombarded."

More than anything, midwife mania is the product of deeply rooted problems within the larger maternity care system. With each passing year, the shortage of maternity care providers in Canada is becoming more pronounced. According to the Society of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists of Canada, there are currently only 1,650 OB/GYNs practising in this country, an estimated 500 of whom have shifted their practices away from deliveries, choosing instead to focus on gynecology, fertility and family planning. Moreover, roughly 34 per cent of the OB/GYNs now working are set to retire in the next five years.

At the same time, fewer family physicians are delivering babies—13 per cent in 2004, down from 36 per cent in 1990. In five years, reports estimate that up to 10,000 women in Ontario alone will not find access to a maternity care provider of any kind—not a midwife, not a physician, not anyone, until the day they find themselves doubled over with contractions in an emergency ward.

Compared with what is currently available in traditional medicine, midwifery is felt by many to be infinitely more personal. Instead of five-minute appointments with an obstetrician, clients get roughly 45 minutes with their midwife during each visit. Midwives have a policy of placing mothers-to be at the heart of the decision-making process. They care for their clients through the entire labour process, and after the birth make home visits for the first 10 days to help families adjust to nursing and life with an infant.

In part, midwives say the surge in demand is a rejection of the "too-posh to push" school of maternity, whereby childbirth can be penciled in like a reiki appointment—and tied to a broader social trend toward pared-down, natural living. Women who seek out the service are generally those with low risk pregnancies who are looking for a de-medicalized experience—whether via a natural birth (midwives can't administer epidurals, for instance) or, increasingly, a home birth—though midwifery offers, in many cases, the best of both worlds: approximately 75 per cent of midwife-assisted births in Ontario take place in a hospital so that, in case of an emergency, care can be swiftly transferred to an MD.

This emphasis on one-on-one care is something that Canada's wildly overburdened obstetricians are simply unable to provide. Already they have an unusually demanding lifestyle. "Time-wise, they have to be on call on weekends and at night," says Dr. André Lalonde, executive vice-president of the society, "whereas in family medicine they have fewer emergencies." Moreover, in the last five years, he says, the society has witnessed a "feminization" of the specialty. "Now 80 to 85 per cent of new graduates in obstetrics are women," he says, "and, rightly so, they want to have children of their own and family life, so they're not going to do 250 to 300 deliveries a year. We have some people doing 450 or 500 deliveries a year. That's not going to happen. They want to work reasonable hours."

It doesn't help that the governing body for OB/GYNs is having trouble attracting young medical students to the specialty. The hours aside, one deterrent to practising obstetrics is an emerging fear of litigation. It is said that the record number of women undergoing Caesarean sections (one in four) is due in part to a belief among doctors that the procedure is safer, and less apt to result in a lawsuit, than a potentially complicated vaginal birth. "The liability piece is big," says Bridget Lynch, a Toronto-based midwife and president of the International Confederation of Midwives. "The self-protection that goes on in terms of not only do I not want to be sued, but I don't want the personal grief that accompanies a loss for one of my patients."

Another deterrent is the pay, which is deemed inadequate compared with other, less taxing specialties. If a patient goes into labour in the middle of the day, an obstetrician has to cancel all of her appointments, and lose those billings. Meanwhile, the amount she can bill for the delivery is fixed, no matter how long or complicated the labour. "There is better payment now at night—30 per cent more after midnight, 40 per cent in some places," says Lalonde, "but that has been slow in coming." Compared with the billings a physician can rack up in a walk-in clinic, where she might see dozens of people a day, it's not a great deal. "You may only deliver one woman in a whole night," he says, "but you're going to be a lot more stressed than someone seeing all these people with a common cold or earaches."

With obstetricians spread so thin, and midwives eager for greater representation, one might think they'd be eager to help each other out. First, however, they need to overcome what remains of a long-standing culture clash. Traditionally, midwives and medical doctors have looked at each other with suspicion: midwives are critical of the medicalization of childbirth, while the medical community has been dismissive of midwives' touchy-feely approach and perceived lack of expertise.

In some communities, doctors are still reluctant to grant them hospital privileges, which would give them the right to practise alongside medical doctors. In Squamish, B.C., says Lehe Elahar, a Vancouver-based practitioner, midwives have been working for years, with support from the public and local health authorities, to get privileges at the hospital, to no avail. "The hospital is putting obstacles in place and we really can only assume that it's for political reasons," she says. "There are women that are travelling perilous journeys, driving through the mountains to get to Vancouver to get care, when really they should be getting care in their communities." As recently as 10 years ago, Lalonde says, obstetricians didn't see the need for midwives. "Physicians were doing more deliveries," he says. "Now, faced with an inhuman workload, they're saying we need to find a solution."

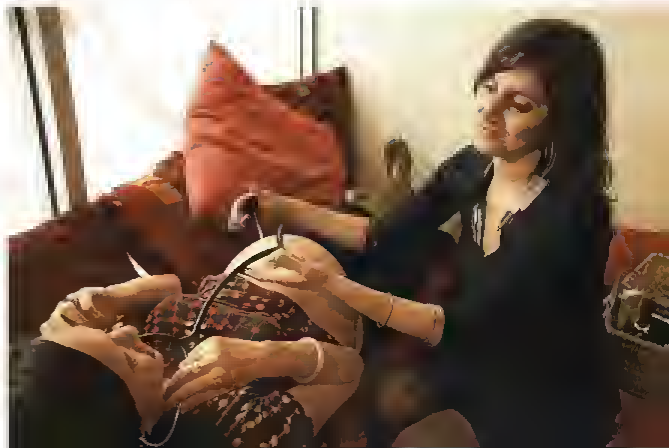
A THIRD OF OB/GYNS ARE RETIRING BY 2013, AND AREN'T BEING REPLACED

That solution, he says, is the implementation of the SOGC's "National Birthing Strategy," a plan that demands that doctors, nurses and midwives learn to play well together, and ideally work in collectives, to create sustainable models of care over the next five years. "In rural regions especially, you need a team approach to care," says Lalonde.

The plan would cost Health Canada $43.5 million, but Lalonde says the consequences of not rethinking maternity care in this country are very real. Already our maternity safety record is slipping. In 1990, according to the SOGC, Canada was ranked one of the safest places in the world to give birth. In 2006, data released by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development showed that Canada's rank had slipped to 21st with regard to infant mortality (compared to sixth in 1990), 14th in perinatal mortality rates (down from 12th), and 11th in maternal morbidity (down from second).

At the same time, there are more high-risk pregnancies than ever. "We have a lot more complex medical conditions," says Lalonde. "Women are older having their babies. There's more obesity. Multiple births are on the rise—some of which is related to IVF." A 2006 study found that a stunning 75 per cent of all births in Canada involve some form of medical intervention—ranging from epidurals to induction to C-sections—contravening healthy standards set by the World Health Organization.

Midwives, in fact, are desperately needed to help carry the load by facilitating as many low-risk pregnancies as possible, to help create a more efficient system. Advocates point out that among midwifery clients, about 25 per cent give birth at home, with no hospital stay or additional costs to the health care system. Those who do give



PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIAN HOWELL

B.C.'S ELAHAR, like most midwives, spends a lot longer with a client than a doctor would

TANNIS TOOHEY/TORONTO STAR

birth in hospital usually stay on half as long as the average patient attended by an MD "One of the stated huge advantages of midwifery care is that if everything is fine with mother and baby, they are discharged within three to six hours after their birth," says Lynch The subsequent home visits help keep them out of the emergency rooms

Midwifery care is proven safe, too. Accord-

WITH ONLY 700 midwives for all of Canada, clients lie about due dates to secure a spot



ing to the Canadian Institute of Health Information, those who use midwives are less likely to be hospitalized prenatally, to undergo a Caesarean, to give birth prematurely, to have labour induced and to have an episiotomy Also, they are significantly more satisfied with the care they received A 2007 study by Statistics Canada found that 71 per cent of women who used midwives described their experience as "very positive," compared to only 53 per cent who gave birth with the help of an obstetrician, nurse or family doctor

CANADA WAS A TOP PLACE TO GIVE BIRTH BUT NOW OUR SAFETY RANK HAS FALLEN

But with only 700 registered midwives in Canada, there aren't nearly enough to make even a dent in the load of over 350,000 births a year (By comparison, Britain employs 28,000, who attend over 70 per cent of all births) Across the country, access to midwives remains spotty This year, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan and, most recently, Alberta announced plans to introduce regulated, publicly funded midwifery services In Quebec, the Ministry of Health and Social Services aims to have midwives delivering 10 per cent of the province's babies in birthing centres by 2016 In Vancouver, midwives are just beginning to see waiting lists, although they're not nearly as long as those in Toronto "I think that supply and demand is sort of matched now," says Elahar, who co-founded Pomegranate Midwives, a community-oriented clinic with yoga, massage and acupuncture services, in 2006 "But I do think that in the coming years the demand is going to be greater We are walking into that"

Unfortunately, right now, the profession is growing too slowly to avoid the crunch For one thing, funding is only available for a small number of spots in the six midwifery education programs in universities across the country Even if more spots were added, at the moment there aren't enough placements to absorb more student practitioners

Equally significant, each province caps the number of births a midwife can take on each year—usually somewhere around 40 Beyond that, midwives feel they can't provide the quality of care and individual attention necessary The SOGC wants to see the caps lifted "They should be able to take more than 40 deliveries in a year," says Lalonde "The average right now for OB/GYN is over 250 deliveries per year because we don't have the choice If 20 women come into the hospital with no doctors, we still have to deliver them. Midwives in the U S and in Europe do about 120 deliveries a year With 350,000 deliveries in Canada, it will take a lot of midwives at this rate No wonder midwives have a waiting list."

The ideal model, according to Lalonde, would involve a collective of four or five midwives—each delivering two to three times the number of babies the current caps allow for—and one obstetrician to back them up This, he says, is an arrangement that might reasonably appeal to an OB/GYN offered a rural posting "What we're worried about," says Lalonde, "is in five to 10 years [small and medium-sized] communities will not have an obstetrician within a reasonable distance to do a surgery, if the need arises Then you'll see maternal mortality go even higher We have a very small window of opportunity"

Across the country, initiatives designed to quickly and safely bolster the number of midwives are springing up—programs designed to speed up accreditation for internationally trained midwives, or offer advanced standing to nurses who want to transition into midwifery "One thing our college is working on is increasing midwives' scope of care," says Elahar, "giving us more training so we can do things like, for example, a vacuum delivery Especially for those in rural areas It's not great science, it's just something that we need training for"

Jacyk's delivery, in a Toronto hospital, is a perfect example of the type of collaborative care Lalonde envisions Her midwife was on hand through 16 hours of early labour and 11 hours of arduous active labour When it became clear that complications had arisen, Jacyk's care was transferred to an OB/GYN, who ultimately performed a C-section, with the midwife standing by to care for the baby when he arrived "They were so willing to work around each other," she says "My hope was to have a natural birth, but having gone through all that, the care I got before and after was amazing It was pretty seamless"

Unfortunately, the resources to provide this sort of one-on-one care are available to almost no one. "Ninety-eight per cent of women have to deal with maybe one nurse part-time to follow you during labour and delivery," says Lalonde "We have to offer every woman the same level of care We have to be careful we don't create two groups of women, one with midwives and the rest can just take care of themselves" M

TONICS

FOR LONGEVITY, LOOK TO ASTRALAGUS PLANTS

An elixir prepared from astralagus plants may help extend life As humans age, repetitive DNA on the ends of chromosomes shrinks, limiting a cell's lifespan These caps can be rebuilt with the enzyme telomerase, and researchers are investigating whether it can be boosted Astralagus plants, used in Chinese medicine, yield a drug that seems to reduce telomerase erosion So far, there is no direct evidence that astralagus prolongs life

PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIAN HOWELL

WORDS TO THE WISE AT HOLIDAY TIME



GIVE THE GIFT OF MACLEAN'S AT WWW.MACLEANS.CA/GIFT

ROGERS

MACLEAN'S
MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL.

‘SEVEN TABLES WERE BROKEN. IT WAS A FULL METAL NIGHT—THE DAY I’VE DREAMED ABOUT.’ —IRAQI STUDENT LATIF AHMED ORGANIZED BAGHDAD’S FIRST HEAVY METAL CONCERT IN MEMORY

JOHN KEY
A SELF-MADE KIWI COMES TO POWER

If there’s one quality that political neophyte **John Key** brings to his new job as New Zealand’s incoming prime minister, it’s a belief in perseverance. The 47-year-old leader of the centre-right National Party grew up in a single-parent home under the guidance of a Jewish mother who fled her native Austria in the perilous 1930s. When John’s British-born father died in 1969, the Keys fell into poverty and lived in public housing. Yet Key had a dream. He attended university, graduated with an accounting degree, landed his first job in 1982 as an auditor, and then moved overseas and worked his way up to be a senior foreign exchange trader for Merrill Lynch. In the process he accumulated a personal fortune worth $34 million. Not bad for a kid whose mother had to accept welfare. As for his impending stint as leader of New Zealand, critics say he’s untested and prone to making gaffes on TV. That, however, resonated with Kiwi voters who are looking for change from nine years of Labour Party rule. Change is something Key knows how to do.

JON FAVREAU
A YOUNG WOROSMITH’S METEORIC RISE

When he joined the 2004 **John Kerry** presidential campaign, **Jon Favreau** was just 23 years old. The graduate of an obscure New England college had the job of putting together audio clips to help campaign strategists stay on top of issues. But as Kerry’s campaign fizzled, his staff thinned out, and Kerry needed a speech writer. Favreau was chosen “even though I had no previous experience.” Impressed by what he did, Barack **Obama**’s staff hired Favreau to write speeches for the Illinois senator, and then the boy in the buzzed haircut became Obama’s presidential campaign speech writer. Favreau (not the same guy as the Jon Favreau who appeared in the movie *Iron Man*) crafted Obama’s Nov. 4 victory speech, calling on knowledge of speeches by Abraham Lincoln to set the victor’s call for bipartisan co-operation. For his youthful way with words, Favreau, known to colleagues as “Favs,” is widely seen as having a place in Obama’s administration. He’s come a long way fast.

LATIF AHMED
THE METALHEADS OF BAGHDAD

For his passion in music, **Latif Ahmed** was once dragged from his engineering classes in Baghdad and threatened with death by Muslim fundamentalists. But Ahmed, 22, defied them and recently saw a dream come true: the revival of heavy metal music in the violent Iraqi capital. It was a modest start: a concert by Ahmed’s band, Dog Faced Corpse, in the Pharmacists’ Club, a private hall on the banks of the Tigris River. Ahmed, who plays the drums, says he admires Black Sabbath and Metallica, and his band practises with the same energy: “It’s very, very loud and our rehearsals made my neighbours very angry.” Despite the danger of a metalhead show in a country torn by religious disagreements, 250 headbangers converged on the hall to listen to Ahmed’s earsplitting music, mosh and bust furniture, just as their Western counterparts do. “It was great,” Ahmed recalls. “Seven tables were broken. It was a full metal night—the day I’ve always dreamed about.”

MELANIE NUNES FRONCKOWIAK
PERFECT ENDINGS

Last week, as world leaders prepared to gather in Washington, D.C., to discuss the global economic crisis, a meeting of a very different sort was taking place in Paris, experts in the human posterior gathered in their quest for the world’s most beautiful bum. More than 11,200 well-reared individuals submitted photos for consideration in the competition, sponsored by an underwear manufacturer. The gruelling selection process saw 45 finalists strut their stuff for a “VIP jury” including a supermodel, an astronaut and a “bum-painting artist.” Of all the hindquarters on display, it was that of **Melanie Nunes Fronckowiak**, 20, of Brazil, which won for women. Scoring for the men was 27-year-old **Saliba Bombore** of France, whose back bumper most impressed the jury. Both will receive a modelling contract, prize money, and the much-admired title, “Most Beautiful Bottom in the World.” The manufacturer, meanwhile, gets to put its name on their beautiful derrières.

BLACK SABBATH

MARK MITCHELL/CP; EMMANUEL DUNAND/AFP/GETTY IMAGES; ORBAN THIERRY/CP

SÉGOLÈNE ROYAL
IT’S A PARTY, BUT NOT MUCH FUN

The city of Reims may be the world capital of champagne, but members of France’s Socialist Party who gathered there over the weekend probably didn’t feel like uncorking the bubbly. Delegates were expected to unite the fractured party behind a new leader, predicted to be the charismatic **Ségolène Royal**, runner-up in last year’s election that saw **Nicolas Sarkozy** elected. Bogged down by endless negotiations and infighting, the meeting ended in disarray. Royal now faces her main rival, **Martine Aubry**, who’s popular with the party’s old guard. Royal’s cause would have been helped if she had the backing of her former partner, **François Hollande**, who’s the current party leader, but he split with her, and more than just romantically. Uniting France’s left before the next election will be crucial in the face of Sarkozy’s resurgent popularity. Unfortunately for Royal, her enemies are already banding together under one common banner: *“Tout sauf Ségolène”* or “Anyone but Segolene.”

REMY DE LA MAUVINIERE/CP; ADRIAN WYLD/CP; ANDREA MOHIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

LARRY TAYLOR
SMALL RECEIVER DELIVERS A BIG WIN

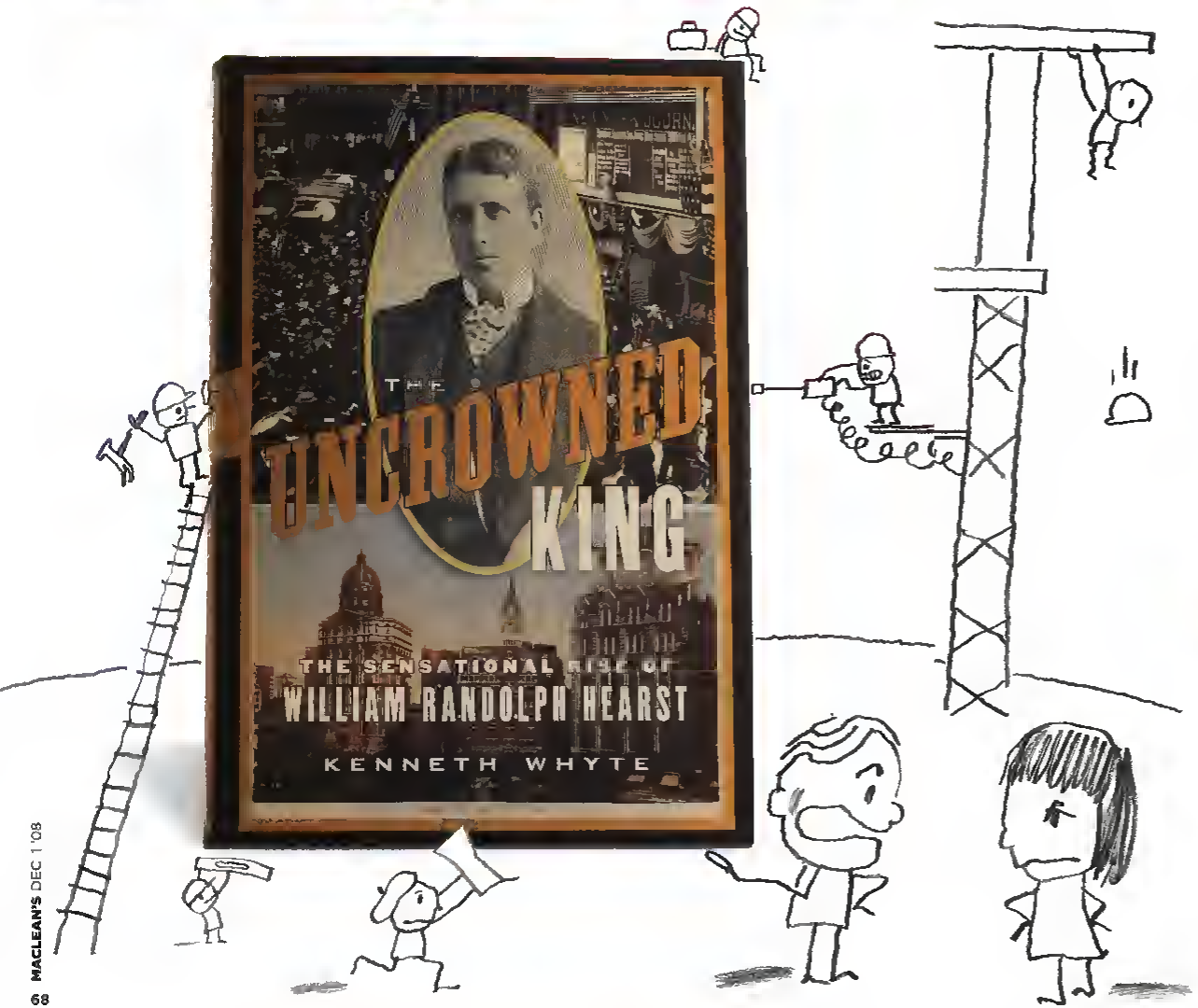
He may be the smallest guy on the team, but Montreal Alouettes wide receiver **Larry Taylor** came through in a big way last weekend in the Als’ 36-26 victory over the Edmonton Eskimos in the CFL’s eastern championship game at Olympic Stadium. The five-foot-six Florida native set a playoff record by returning two punts for touchdowns. His performance helped Montreal advance to the Grey Cup, where they’ll play the Calgary Stampeders Sunday at the Big O. Taylor’s first touchdown came late in the first half when he took a **Noel Prefontaine** punt and darted 64 yards through the entire Eskies defence to give the Als their first lead of the game. His second score came early in the fourth quarter when he collected another Prefontaine kick deep in his own zone and ran virtually untouched for 97 yards to help seal the win. He later revealed that the only other time he’d returned two punts for touchdowns in the same game was while playing for Glades Day High School in Belle Glade, Fla.

NIGEL LOCKYER
USING A LIGHT SABRE TO SPLIT ATOMS

Scientists are heralding “a uniquely Canadian solution” to secure the world’s medical isotope supply. **Nigel Lockyer**, the director of TRIUMF, Canada’s national laboratory for particle and nuclear physics in Vancouver, says making isotopes through photo-fission is a promising alternative to the medicines made with weapons-grade uranium at the aging nuclear reactor in Chalk River, Ont., where half of the world’s supply of isotopes is produced. Isotopes make it possible to “see” inside the body to diagnose heart disease, locate tumours and treat cancer. Lockyer’s proposal would produce high-energy photons to split atoms. The main advantage of the “photo-fission accelerator” is that it could use natural or depleted uranium rather than the highly enriched uranium needed by existing reactors. A safety-related shutdown at the 51-year-old Chalk River reactor a year ago meant thousands of medical tests had to be cancelled due to the resulting isotope shortage. If it works, photo-fission will be a life-saving replacement to an old reactor.

BEATRICE MULLER
HER ENDLESS CRUISE PULLS IN TO OOCK

When the legendary Queen Elizabeth 2 docks for the last time this month after four decades in service, the crew on board will lose their jobs, but one woman will lose her home. **Beatrice Muller** has lived in a $7,000-a-month cabin on board the Cunard liner for the last nine years. The 89-year-old first fell in love with the luxury liner—which has played host to royalty, Nelson Mandela, George Harrison and Elizabeth Taylor—when she and her husband, Bob, started taking yearly cruises on it in the 1990s. She became a full-time resident after her husband died on board the ship in 1999. Muller says living there is better than a retirement home. She sold her New Jersey house after her husband’s death to live on the ship because she has no grandchildren and all her friends have either died or had moved from her old neighbourhood. The ship will soon be converted into a hotel in Dubai, but the prospect of homelessness doesn’t faze her. “I’ll keep on staying at sea,” says Muller, who is looking for another ship. “I don’t want to go back to housekeeping.”



Hello? Hello? Random House, are you there?

The Editor-in-Chief of Maclean's was a bit 'obsessive' about the cover of his first book

BY KENNETH WHYTE

media

Covers matter. At *Maclean's* magazine, we sell between 7,000 and 21,000 copies a week on newsstands, and the most obvious variables week to week are the cover subject, the cover image, and the cover line, which means that when we nail a cover, we can sell three times as many copies as when we don't. I spend a good amount of time every week on the details of *Maclean's* covers, endeavouring to arrange things so that our results are as often as possible at the high end of the range.

Last summer, when I was finishing the manuscript of my first book, *The Uncrowned King: The Sensational Rise of William Randolph Hearst*, my editor at Random House mentioned that we should start working on its cover. A few weeks later, she emailed me some mock-ups prepared by her in-house designers. She asked my preference. Once my input was received, I was told, the designers would produce the book cover. Simple enough.

I should have registered my choice, put the matter out of my mind, and finished writing my endnotes. I was working with a fine publishing house filled with people who package and market books for a living and, while I can claim to know something about newspapers and magazines, I've never worked in books.

Yet I couldn't help thinking that I'd spent five years writing *The Uncrowned King* and that I might never feel up to the chore of writing another book. If this was my one shot, I should do my best to get the cover right, on the assumption that covers are every bit as crucial to books as to magazines. I told myself that my input was important. If I know magazine buyers, I know book buyers—readers are readers.

I also knew, better than anyone else, the story that the cover was supposed to reflect—how in 1895 a wealthy young Californian, William Randolph Hearst, bought a feeble New York daily and engaged Joseph Pulitzer, the undisputed king of American journalism, in the most spectacular newspaper war of all time. By 1898, Hearst had supplanted Pulitzer as the dominant force in New York publishing, and was on his way to becoming one of the most powerful and fascinating private citizens in 20th century America. It's a big sprawling story with drama, romance, mur-

PHOTOGRAPH BY LIZ SULLIVAN. ILLUSTRATION BY JASON LOGAN



media

der, prizefights, jailbreaks, literary scandals, enormous fortunes, brilliant new technologies, genocidal wars, the most exciting election in American history (with fascinating echoes of the Obama campaign)—and it all raises crucial questions about the role of journalism in our lives. Who, if not me, was going to capture all that in a single cover?

I offered my editor a long but polite list of suggestions for alterations to her proposed covers. I soon received another set of mock-ups by email. Some of my suggestions had been incorporated, but I thought, in my now obsessive state, that we hadn't yet nailed it, so I next did what I do when I'm uncertain about a proposed magazine cover—I asked the art department for more options, fresh approaches. The response from the publishing house was cool.

Like all editors, I'm accustomed to cool responses from designers and art directors. Even the best collaborations between editors and art departments are at some level contests of will. Being a 25 year veteran of such collaborations—having stood toe-to toe with some of the most ingeniously stubborn art directors in the business—I was not without resources. On a good day, I can bring a designer to heel with the arch of an eyebrow. Trouble was, these designers worked not for me but for my book editor, and they couldn't see my eyebrows because we were communicating by email.

I'll spare readers the humiliating details of my further efforts to take control of the cover of *The Uncrowned King*. It wasn't long, however, before I was drafting designers of my acquaintance in Toronto, Montreal, and New York to produce alternatives to what I was now referring to as "the atrocities" coming out of the Random House art department. I sought confirmation of my judgment among friends, colleagues, my agent, and some poor woman at the next table in a hotel restaurant—"Just look at these two covers and tell me which you'd be inclined to purchase?"

I noticed amid all of my activity that I was losing the attention of the people at Random House. My editor had been sympathetic and accommodating early on, but past a certain point responses to my emails slowed until eventually I was informed by her assistant that my editor's email was malfunctioning and that it might be weeks before it was working again.

On a good day I can bring a designer to heel with the arch of an eyebrow

When the last batch of alternative covers produced by my personal designers failed to elicit a warm response from Random House, and when a last anecdote I'd hoped to add to my manuscript was refused because it was late (in part because of my preoccupation with the cover), I went on strike. I quit answering emails from my editor's production staff and announced that I was no longer in a mood to promote the book upon publication.

A few days went by.

My agent called. "Are you an idiot?"

My daughter picked up my favourite of the alternative covers I'd commissioned. "Is this the atrocity?"

My assistant said, "I bet they hate you at Random House, but I guess you're used to that."

Eventually my editor sent me a curt email saying that we were due at the press and that she was unilaterally approving the version of the cover produced by her art department. I think she mentioned that she liked it, and that everyone else in her offices liked it. She didn't invite a response.

Foiled, chastened, I returned to my endnotes and resolved from that point forward to do with professionalism and good cheer everything asked of me by my editor, and I'm proud to say that some days I did.

Eventually the printed book landed on my desk. From time to time, people would come into my office and notice it. An embarrassing number of them have told me that they like the cover.

(Certain details of this story have been altered to protect the reputation of the author.) M



STOP THE PRESSES...MILTON KEYNES, ECONOMIST

"By mangling the names of two of history's most highly decorated economists, John Maynard Keynes and Milton Friedman, we not only created an economy of truth but blamed poor Milton Keynes for having 'crazy' ideas. Milton Keynes is an English town famous not only for its grid system of roads and its herd of concrete cows but because in 1999 it was deemed so boring that even chartered accountants refused to move there."—*The West Australian*

PHOTOGRAPH BY LIZ SULLIVAN. ILLUSTRATION BY JASON LOGAN

PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY ADAM CHOLEWA



UNREALISTIC expectations of a buoyant recovery make it tough to get help with symptoms. 'I think, this is how my life is now. It sucks.'

The angry breast cancer survivors

Women with post-treatment maladies find no one really wants to hear 'downbeat' stories

BY ANNE KINGSTON • Breast cancer awareness month, also known as October, came and went with scant attention paid to a new, groundbreaking book: *After the Cure: The Untold Stories of Breast Cancer Survivors* by Emily Abel and Saskia Subramanian. Then again, stories of women coping with life-altering, post-treatment maladies have remained "untold" for a reason. As Abel, a professor of health services and women's studies at the University of California, and Subramanian, a sociologist at the UCLA Centre for Culture and Health, point out, the topic runs counter to the "celebratory breast cancer culture," one filled with inspiring narratives of good health and spiritual rejuvenation.

That wasn't Abel's experience after radiation and chemo for breast cancer in 1993. Her doctor told her recovery would take a year, to this day she still suffers from fatigue. She began noticing a "cone of silence" around the subject of health when talking with other survivors. "Everybody was supposed to say 'I'm fine, I'm great' and of course we were fine—those of us who survived were really very lucky and we did consider ourselves fine. But we began to realize we also had other problems that no one was paying much attention to."

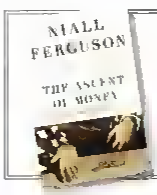
After the Cure provides voice to breast cancer survivors thrust into a netherworld of chronic disability, afflicted with symptoms that include numbing fatigue, joint pain, mouth ulcers, mobility problems and severe cognitive impairment dubbed "chemobrain." Their distress is compounded by doctors who dismiss their complaints as psychosomatic, and once-supportive family and friends who urge them to get on with their lives.

The fact more women survive breast cancer permitted this pioneering study, says Subramanian. Yet they had difficulty finding funding, which ultimately came from the respected Susan G. Komen Foundation. "We were told it wasn't a real phenomenon," she says, noting she wasn't surprised. "It's the history of women's medicine that we are hypochondriacs and hysterics and malingerers. And that is such an inappropriate way of managing the health care of half of the population."

Eileen Rakovitch, a radiation oncologist and chair of the breast cancer program at Toronto's Sunnybrook hospital, views *After the Cure* as an invaluable addition to breast cancer literature, and intends to give copies to colleagues. "Although it's important to emphasize breast cancer survivorship because mortality is declining, I don't think we want to make it too glamorous and to make survivorship mean everything is as good as, and in some cases, better than before diagnosis because that's not true for many women," she says. One of her patients, a foreign correspondent, had such severe cognitive dysfunction she was unable to return to work.

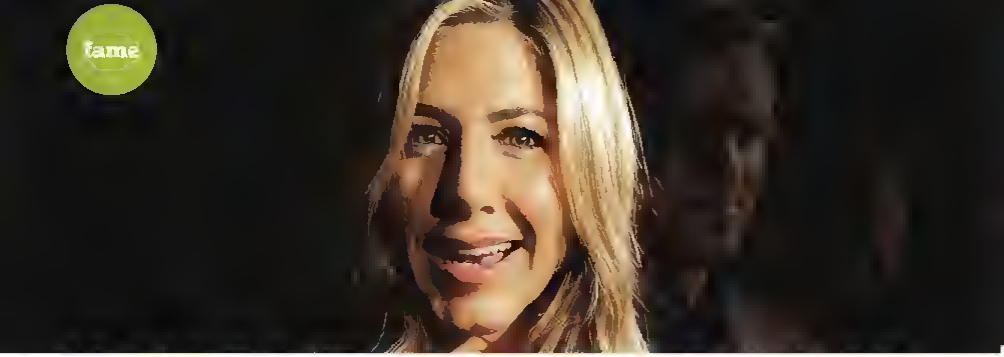
Raising awareness is their goal, says Subramanian, who has produced a documentary, *Beyond Breast Cancer: Stories of Survivors*. She wants doctors to inform women undergoing toxic remedies that there can be serious long-term problems in a small number of cases. It's a difficult balance, Rakovitch notes. "At the time of diagnosis, women are so overwhelmed. They're interested in surviving those two to three years rather than worrying about their cognitive status in three years." She too would like physicians to inquire more actively about post-treatment symptoms and validate women who come to them with complaints. Medical acknowledgment is crucial, says Abel. "Without validation, employers won't listen, family members think they're malingering, and people can't get disability benefits."

Many women interviewed in *After the Cure* bristle against the unrealistic cultural expectations placed on a buoyant recovery. One speaks of coming to terms with malingering lymphedema and chemobrain. "So I don't see them as symptoms anymore, I see them as, 'this is how my life is now. It sucks, it will always suck.' But if I spend all of my time thinking how rotten it is, I'm not going to have any life." Rakovitch believes post-treatment life is the next step in breast cancer research, noting studies are under way on the use of Ritalin to ease chemobrain. Karen Fergus, a Toronto-based psychologist who works with breast cancer patients, is co-authoring the first study of body image and sexuality among survivors. Abel and Subramanian are examining the use of acupuncture to alleviate fatigue. The lives of women living after The Cure can't be tied up neatly with a pretty pink ribbon quite yet. M



FINALLY, A BOOK ABOUT...WHY BUBBLES BURST

In one of the more timely history books ever published, Niall Ferguson argues financial evolution is the real backstory to all human history. *The Ascent of Money* (Penguin) says the growth of credit and debt, not science and technology, was the motor of human progress, and shows how bond markets won wars and market crashes sparked revolutions. And how, sooner or later, fear outweighs greed in every market—and everything falls apart.



AS PART of the most mused-upon triangle since Euclid, Aniston's now tethered to Pitt and Jolie in a perverse tabloid geometry



AS PITT and Jolie tour refugee camps and rebuild New Orleans, Aniston is shot bagging rays in Cabo and dating a series of child-men

Poor needy pathetic desperate Jen

How did Jennifer Aniston, once America's Sweetheart, morph into America's Spinster?

BY ANNE SINGSTON • *Vogue* editor Anna Wintour knows how to sell magazines, which explains the "What Angelina Did Was Very Uncool" line on the cover of the December issue next to Jennifer Aniston's face. The quote was lifted from an interview in which the foemer *Friends* star was asked about Angelina Jolie's gushing to the magazine in 2007 about falling in love with Brad Pitt while he was still hitched to her. Playing Aniston's first public comment about Jolie so boldly was a master stroke destined to generate epic buzz.

For Aniston, though, the incident ushered in yet another of the "Poor Jen! Duped again!" moments that have dogged her since her 2005 divorce from Pitt. Not only did *Vogue* exploit Aniston's tepid smackdown, making her appear obsessed with the siren who stole her husband, it squared the two women off against one another more subtly. Astute fashionistas were quick to note that the cover image of Aniston posed on a beach in a cleavage-displaying, off-the-shoulder, red Narciso Rodriguez gown echoed the cover shot of Jolie in January 2007 in which she rocked a cleavage-displaying, off-the-shoulder, red Bill Blass against a sandy backdrop. Jolie's cover line, however, was a more triumphant "Why Her Real Life is More Romantic Than Any Movie." The disparity continued inside: in 2007, Jolie was shown with Pitt and their numerous children, in the current issue, Aniston is pictured with her dog Norman.

Aniston's *Vogue* appearance is part of a publicity blitz for her two new movies, *Marley & Me*, which opens on Dec. 25, and *He's Just Not That Into You*, which arrives in February. Neither role, it's safe to say, will eclipse the one she currently plays in the cultural imagination—that of the archetypal Wronged Wife subject to an endless loop of "Jen Is Devastated!" "Jen Is Furious!" "Jen Gets Revenge!" bogus theorizing. Since her divoree, America's Sweetheart has morphed into America's Spinster. The unmarried, childless Aniston has become the tabloids' Miss Havisham, portrayed as lonely, needy and locked in the past. The website *Dlisted.com* recently advertised a US$19.95 "Boyfriend Arm Pillow" thus: "Now, every time the Jennifer Aniston in your life calls you, wanting to whine for hours about how they are so f--king lonely and their cats are even giving them the side-eye, you can simply say, 'Aniston in my life, go canoodle with the Boyfriend Arm Pillow I got you for Christmas,'" Celebrity gossip site *PerezHilton.com* refers to her cruelly as "Maniston."

Her alleged tribulations sell big time. "We can't get enough of her," says Dina Sansing, entertainment director at *US Weekly*, where every issue features at least one Aniston photo or story. She's No. 2 on the "Most Valuable Celebrity Faces" of 2008 list in terms of news stand sales, according to *Forbes*. (In a rare case of tabloids mutating life, "Poor Jen!" was knocked off her No. 1 perch this year by Jolie.) Women relate to her, says Sansing, a bond that dates back to 1994 when Aniston entered homes as flaky, likeable Rachel Green. Female fans flocked to copy Aniston's haircut, known as "The Rachel." And now they rally to share her pain—as well as a *schadenfreude* thrill.

Aniston's position atop the tabloid pantheon was cemented with her union with Pitt, whom she met Hollywood cute in 1998 through their mutual agent. The merger of America's Sweetheart and the World's Sexiest Man in 2000 was a lavish event that featured a 40-person gospel choir and fireworks over the Pacific. They were the king and queen of the Hollywood prom, with matching tans and blond streaks. When they split, Aniston was poised for posr *Friends* career breakout, initially she was the one blamed for being unwilling to "have Brad's babies," to employ tabloid lexicon. When Jolie's involvement became known, Aniston became the object of sympathy, and pity. After all, what chance did the Girl Next Door have against the Girl From the Next Galaxy? The *New Yorker* film critic Anthony Lane summed up perception of Jolie's snaring of Pitt: "She took one look at the world's most widely desired man and scooped him up with no more ado than a Parisian grande dame tucking a chihuahua into her clurch bag."

The scandal was likened to Eddie Fisher leaving Debbie Reynolds for Elizabeth Taylor in the '60s. But back then there wasn't a celebrity media complex ready to pounce on Reynolds' every humiliation, real or imagined. For the wounded Aniston, the salt poured down, beginning with an arty 60-page photo spread in the June 2005 *W* titled "Domestic Bliss," in which Pitt and Jolie presided over a band of little blond Brads.

Aniston shor back with a tearful *Vanity Fair* interview in which she admitted to being hurt and lonely and denied rumours that she didn't wanr children. "That really pissed me off. I've never in my life said I didn't want to have children. I did and I do and I will!"

The trendy L.A. store Kitson capitalized on the conflict, selling "Team Aniston" and "Team Jolie" T-shirts. "Team Aniston" outsold 25-to one in the beginning, reports owner Fraser Ross. Elaine Lui, founder of the popular celebrity gossip blog *Laneygossip.com* and an *eTalk* reporter, believes Aniston's plight taps into female anxiety. "There's a fear among many women that their husband is going to work one day and hook up with the hot colleague," she says. "So every time they see Jennifer Aniston's face they can't help but feel for her or support her, not because they like her but because they feel a vote for her is a vote for themselves."

As part of the most mused-upon triangle since Euclid, Aniston's now intractably tethered to Pitt and Jolie in a perverse geometry: for every "Brangelina's Baby Joy" headline, there's the inevitable "Jen Alone in Malibu!" sidebar. In the *gravitas* sweepstakes, she's the lesser, a sun lamp eclipsed by a supernova. As Pitt and Jolie tour refugee camps and rebuild New Orleans, she's photographed bagging rays in Cabo and dating a series of child-men, most lately the singer John Mayer, which sparked the recent *Life & Style* cover line: "Having More Surgery for John?"

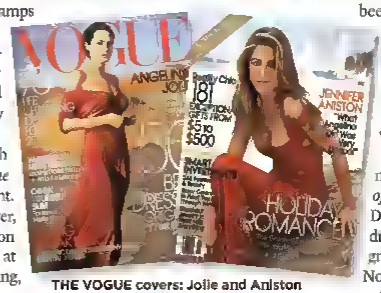
Aniston's post-Pitt hookups, which include Vince Vaughn, her co-star in *The Break Up*, have the whiff of publicity stunt. Lui views Aniston's relationship with Mayer, whose conquests include Jessica Simpson and who's nine years her junior, as an attempted "Screw you" to Jolie. "She's saying, 'I'm 40 but I can still bag a younger man and change him.' I almost feel sorry for her talking about her like this, it's so misguided."

Aniston's uterine status is the subject of constant speculation as she approaches the big 4-0. "She's Having John's Babies," announced *Star* magazine in mid-November, which claimed Aniston was undergoing "secret fertility treatments" to have twins. That same week, *In Touch* falsely reported it was a *fait accompli*: "Jen's Bump Gets Bigger."

Of course, obsession with celebrity baby bumps drive newsstand sales. "Her fans are interested in her having a traditional husband and house," says Sansing. "They're very eager for her to have this life that we all think she's wanted for some time."

Aniston's inability—or unwillingness—to fulfill her perceived maternal destiny is magnified exponentially by Jolie's and Pitt's relentless child acquisition: they've added an average of 1.6 children per year to their family. Yet Jolie's Earth Mother status hasn't interfered with her stellar career. Since 2005, she has made nine movies, two of which generated Oscar buzz.

Aniston has made seven, two with cringe-inducing, too-close-to life titles. As Fug Girls, *New York* magazine's fashion blog, observed: "*The Break Up* was bad enough, but *He's Just Not That Into You*? Honey, no. There's self-awareness, and then there's masochism."



THE VOGUE covers: Jolie and Aniston

It's as if the lens trained on Aniston is fated to dredge up the past. She's photographed often with former *Friends* co-star Courteney Cox, reminding the public of Rachel, in a Smart Water ad, she's surrounded by children of various ethnicities, summoning inevitable comparison to Jolie, her recent guest appearance on *30 Rock* as a stalker sent up her real life victim persona.

Lui believes the focus on Aniston as victim is misbegotten. "I think we need to examine ourselves as a society," she says. "For some reason we love the soap opera aspect of a weak victim like Jennifer Aniston and the mobilization to rally around her." She sees Aniston as hostage to her own publicity. "She sold this image of herself and now she can't shake it. She has become the poster girl for crying yourself to sleep at night."

It's a label Aniston tries to shake. "This whole 'Poor lonely Jen' thing, this idea that I'm so unlucky in love? I actually feel I've been unbelievably lucky in love," she told *Vogue*. "Just because at this stage my life doesn't have the traditional framework to it—the husband and the two kids and the house in Connecticut—it's *mine*. It's my experience. And if you don't like the way it looks, then stop looking at it!"

That's not going to happen, especially now that Pitt's promoting *The Curious Case of Benjamin Button*, which also opens on Dec. 25. Brangelina domestic bliss will be displayed large, as in the "private" photographs Pitt took of Jolie displayed in the November issue of *W*.

Appearing on the *Oprah Winfrey Show* in mid-November, Aniston tried to distance herself from the breakup. "I don't go there," she said. "It's a hundred years old for Chrissakes." Still, Winfrey stoked the embers, asking Aniston if she wanted to bear Pitt at the box office. "What am I going to say?" she replied, "Can we do a tie?" No chance of that. The next week, she was "Devastated Jen" once again on the cover of *Star*, once again the proxy for the real world of broken dreams. M



MICHAEL JACKSON

The peripatetic singer is trying to dodge testifying in a British court in a US$7-million lawsuit brought against him by the king of Bahrain's second son, Sheik Abdulla Bin Hamad Bin Isa Al-Khalifa, for work not completed on an album of the prince's songs. Jackson's lawyers say he's too sick to fly and want him to give video testimony in the U.S. But Sheik Abdulla's lawyers are demanding that Jackson get "bandaged up" and get on a plane.

GEORGE PIMENTEL/WIREIMAGE/GETTY
JAMES DEVANEY/WIREIMAGE/GETTY



STEYN sounds surprisingly Australian when he sings, writes Weinman The recording is available in MP3 and CD from Steyn's website

Mark Steyn is the new Bing Crosby

Just in time for Christmas, the famous pundit sings (unironically) 'It's a Marshmallow World'

BY JAIME J. WEINMAN • "I'm singing *Marshmallow World* for real," says Mark Steyn. "I'm not part of the great swamp of irony into which pop culture is sinking." Making fun of corny, happy Christmas songs is a cottage industry, as Stephen Colbert will prove on Nov. 23 when he does his musical Christmas-special parody *A Colbert Christmas: The Greatest Gift of All*. But Steyn, during his recent brush with the Canadian Islamic Congress, took his mind off his troubles by teaming with British musical comedy actress Jessica Martin (who has starred in such West End hits as *Me And My Girl*) for a self-produced recording of *It's a Marshmallow World*, available in MP3 and CD from his website *steynonline.com*. Along with a self-published book called *A Song For the Season*, a survey of holiday-related songs, it's his attempt to strike a blow for a proudly unironic approach to Christmas pop. If, as Steyn has argued in these pages, the future belongs to Islam, then the past belongs to songs with lyrics like, "it's a yum-yummy world made for sweethearts."

Marshmallow World, a cover of a 1949 song that Steyn calls "a second-tier, second-rank standard," is accompanied by all the orchestral sounds that signify a merry musical Christmas: glockenspiels, sleigh bells, triangles, and inoffensive brass fanfares. The Anglo-Canadian American Steyn sounds surprisingly Australian when he sings, but otherwise it's a good approximation of the spirit of the holiday recordings of such anti-ironists as Bing Crosby. It's the type of recording that's still popular with audiences, but not so much with critics. "When I was at the *Daily Telegraph* in London," Steyn notes, "they'd round up all the Christmas songs and give them to some miserable misanthropic rock critic to review." One can imagine what those critics would have said about a single that not only takes *Marshmallow World* at face value, but even throws in some comedy banter ("Oh, Jessica, the world is our snowball!") to put us in mind of those Crosby recordings where he and his guest stars would ad lib their way through the last verse.

You didn't always need to go to a pundit's self-made CD to find unambiguously jolly, irony-free Christmas music. In the golden age of North American Christmas pop, from the first appearance of *Santa Claus Is Coming to Town* in 1934 through a pre-murder-trial Phil Spector's all-star Christmas album in 1963, American Christmas music portrayed a perfect world where snowmen come to life, reindeer are randomly added to Santa's roster, and you meet some nice old man named Parson Brown or Farmer Grey. Holiday songs with some sense of melancholy or realism were revised to satisfy America's appetite for Christmas cheer at the request of Frank Sinatra, songwriter Hugh Martin rewrote the lyrics of his classic *Have Yourself a Merry Little Christmas* to turn it from a sad song to a happy one, while Irving Berlin deleted the introduction to *White Christmas* because it mentioned how depressing it is to celebrate Christmas in snow-deprived California.

In other parts of the world, it's been acceptable to create Christmas music that mentions the less upbeat aspects of being caught in a snowstorm. In the *Marshmallow* recording, Steyn and Martin even tip their hat to British holiday non-cheer: they throw in a brief snippet of the English carol *In the Bleak Midwinter*, the story of how Christmas livened up some otherwise horrible weather. But in their heyday, American songwriters wouldn't stand for that kind of talk, and Steyn likes that just fine: "The English Christmas is sort of bleak, grey, dour, whereas in the North American Christmas, the land is just a winter playground." If you want confirmation that America is different from Europe, don't look at politics, just compare *Hark! The Herald Angels Sing* to *Jingle Bell Rock*.

But even the unnaturally happy yuletide song is a relic of a bygone America; nearly all the most-recorded Christmas songs were written before the late 1960s, when American culture started to break apart. Today, recording this type of song is an act of cultural nostalgia, whether they're recorded by Céline Dion or a Canadian pundit living in New Hampshire. "I feel like in a sort of fragmented culture," Steyn explains, "they're really the last songs we all share." In a musical world of hip hop, *I Kissed a Girl*, and various people named Cyrus, maybe a traditional, uncynical version of *Marshmallow World* is a blow for traditionalism. Or would be, if that song didn't rhyme "girl" with "world." M



INGRID MICHAELSON...HAS SOMETHING TO SAY

Maybe I think you're cute and funny / Maybe I wanna do want bunnies do with you if you know what I mean / Oh lets get rich and buy our parents homes in tha south of France / Lets get rich and give everybody nice sweaters and teach them how to dance / Lets get rich and build a housa on a mountain making everybody look like ants / From way up there, you and I, you and I—You and I, from Ingrid Michaelson's new CD *Be OK*

PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY ADAM CHOLEWA



HE GOT MILK Sean Penn brings to life vividly an iconic U.S. politician whose story somehow eluded Hollywood A-listers for 16 years

The straight story of a gay pioneer

Three decades after his assassination, Harvey Milk escapes Oliver Stone, and gets his due

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON • In 1977 Harvey Milk became the first openly gay man elected to public office in America. But just 10 months after being sworn in to San Francisco's board of supervisors, he and mayor George Moscone were assassinated—shot dead by a conservative colleague, Dan White. Hollywood has been trying to bring Milk's remarkable story to the screen for decades, involving a host of prospective stars—including Robin Williams, Richard Gere, Kevin Spacey, Daniel Day-Lewis and Steve Carell. Now Sean Penn brings the character vividly to life with a performance that rings so true it's hard to imagine anyone else in the role. And after all these years, *Milk*—directed by Gus Van Sant—lands with prescient timing.

Not only has America just elected Barack Obama—another "first ever" candidate born from a historic grassroots movement—on the same ballot, California voters approved Proposition 8, which prohibits gay marriage. Last week, *Milk* screenwriter Dustin Lance Black told me the vote on Proposition 8 was "personally devastating." Ironically, though, this setback for gay rights lends his period drama stunning resonance. Exactly three decades earlier, Milk led a successful crusade to defeat Proposition 6, which would have banned gay teachers from California public schools.

Many of the real-life activists who surrounded Milk served as consultants on the film, and they've said Penn's incarnation of him is uncanny. But one real-life character who could not be on hand was Milk's assassin, who committed suicide after serving five years on a reduced plea of voluntary manslaughter—White had won leniency with the infamous "Twinkie defence," claiming he'd been unhinged by junk food. Josh Brolin (*W.*, *No Country for Old Men*) plays White, and his chemistry with Milk is the film's most intriguing element, freighted with an innuendo that suggests the killer's homophobia was undercut by a closeted attraction. Chillingly, the narrative is framed by Milk dictating his life story in a will that he said was to be opened only in the event of his assassination.

If that sounds like an Oliver Stone movie, it almost was. Backed by gay producers Craig Zadan and Neil Meron (*Chicago*), Stone was the first director tapped to film Milk's story, as *The Mayor of Castro Street*. But he backed out after incensing the gay community with his portrayal of debauched homosexuals in *JFK* (1991). Stone passed the baton to Van Sant, who wrote a script that died on the vine, and then Bryan Singer (*X-Men*) tried to cast Spacey. If there is credence to rumours that Spacey is gay (which he denies), it would have been strangely inappropriate for a closeted gay to portray a politician who was adamant that homosexuals come out. It was vital the movie's star "not be a closeted gay actor," says Black. "That would have been a big slap in the face to the real Harvey Milk."

Black, inspired by the Oscar-winning 1984 documentary *The Times of Harvey Milk*, wrote his script on spec. It got to Van Sant, who gave it to Penn. And out of the blue, a rival pair of gay producers, Dan Jinks and Bruce Cohen, beat out the original team, who had struggled for 16 years on their project.

The casting of *Milk* was sexual-preference-blind. "I think we have more gay actors playing straight roles," says Black, "than straight actors playing gay roles." The latter range from Emile Hirsch, as Milk's flamboyant protege, Cleve Jones, to Toronto-born firecracker Alison Pill, 22, as his lesbian campaign manager, Anne Kronenberg. "When I read the script," Pill said, "I had this whole bull-dyke thing in my head, but once I met Anne, she had an amazing den mother quality."

Kronenberg's character is just one of many teasing tangents that could evolve into a whole other movie. But the focus here is on Harvey. Tracing his evolution from repressed New York office drone to lovesick San Francisco hippie to trim politician, *Milk* embodies the bohemian abandon of a gay pride movement discovering itself. With more wit than finger wagging, it shows the difference between compromising on tactics (Milk cuts his hair and dons a suit) and on principle (he rejects support from wealthy gays who want to campaign behind a straight mask). In that regard, the movie follows Harvey's cue. There's more gay kissing than we've ever seen in a studio picture. But stylistically, *Milk* is Van Sant's straightest film since *Finding Forrester* (2000). Van Sant simply tells the story, an inspirational tragedy that gives Milk his due, and lends his movement the mainstream acceptance and affection he always craved. M



WE'RE STALKING... OPRAH WINFREY

With wildfires sweeping southern California, celebrities are suffering alongside more obscure residents. Rob Lowe, a star on *Brothers & Sisters*, was forced to flee. Actor Christopher Lloyd lost a US$11-million mansion to flames. Meanwhile, Oprah Winfrey had the good sense to draw up emergency plans for her California second home: she made reservations at the local Four Seasons Hotel—for her dogs.



THE BIBLE IS 'our history, our heritage'—so why not design a version that people might want to 'pick up, instead of hide away'?



TORN AND FRAYED 'The bottom end is gone completely, but the top end seems to be lengthening... I don't know what's going on'

Sex, celebrity—and the Good Book

A new photo-illustrated Bible features Angelina Jolie as one of God's messengers

BY BRIAN BETHUNE • Taken in the vast open-air slaughterhouse in Port Harcourt, Nigeria, the photos show crowds of young workers piling up mounds of dead animals amid toxic smoke from burning tires while Armageddon-like rivers of blood flow by their feet. Revelation, that Biblical book of end-of-days terror and desolation, has always fired artists' imaginations. For the publisher of a new photo illustrated Bible, though, actual images of the prelude to the second coming were not an option, and the Nigerian abattoir is an inspired stand-in. It's also the sort of eclectic, often edgy, marriage of image and text—consider Angelina Jolie as one of God's special messengers—that's created so much buzz around the North American launch of Swedish ad executive Dag Soderberg's *Bible Illuminated*. The two thick, photo stuffed, $35 magazines (one per Testament) resemble nothing so much as spiritual editions of *Vogue*. But while the look is cutting-edge modern—old wine in new bottles, to reverse Jesus's parable—the idea is as ancient as the Bible.

Christians have always been, profoundly, a people of the written word. Christ himself is the logos, the word that became flesh in the incarnation, when Jesus wished to declare that he was the beginning and end of all things, he described himself as "the alpha and the omega," the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet. But for most of the faith's history most of its adherents were illiterate—hence the rich array of Christian iconography, including scriptural scenes depicted on church walls. Now, as the Western world enters into another image-dominant era, one not so much illiterate as post literate, among the first to assume the mantle of Byzantine mosaicists and Italian fresco painters is a Swedish marketing guru. But Soderberg is well aware of his debt to the past. The title of his creation is a tribute to medieval monks and their hand-written and drawn Bibles.

Soderberg's Bible sold 30,000 copies last year in Sweden—a remarkable 50 per cent increase in total Bible sales in one of Europe's most post Christian societies. Soderberg isn't much of a Christian himself, but he had realized, he told reporters, that the Bible was "our history, our heritage—it shapes much of our moral codes." Soderberg added that he had designed a version that people would want "to pick up, instead of hide away." Before bookshops began carrying it, Soderberg sold it in places where *Vogue* would have been a more familiar sight—fashion boutiques, art galleries and design stores—and did manage to reach a non-traditional readership. As one enthusiastic U.S. reviewer wrote about the New Testament volume (the Old Testament won't be available in English until next year): "One thing we can probably all agree on is how laborious it is to read the Bible."

In Soderberg's edition, the text itself is unexceptional, the solid workaday English of the Good News translation, provided by the American Bible Society. This Bible is indeed all about the images: a child pointing a handgun directly at the camera illustrates Jesus's statement that he came "not to bring peace, but a sword", a team of one-legged soccer players, all victims of Sierra Leone's civil war, appear in the Acts of the Apostles, where Scripture describes seemingly powerless people doing extraordinary things.

And then there's the glam shots. Soderberg's most talked-about choices: Jolie, Bono, Princess Diana and others. Many observers assume he's simply relying on the ad business's favourite crutches, sex and celebrity. Well, sure. A sex-and-violence theme certainly dominates the cover of the forthcoming Old Testament, where the subheadings include "Driven By Desire" and "The First Murder." But the famous people in the New Testament—who include Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela as well—are there to illustrate the Gospel of Mark's announcement that "God says, 'I will send my messenger ahead of you to open the way.'"

All the portraits in that section are of people who topped a Swedish poll asking for modern-era figures respondents associated with goodness and compassion. Jolie is a UN Goodwill Ambassador, particularly active, like Bono, in African causes. This, in fact, is an unusually Africa-centric Bible, reflecting long-standing Swedish (and Christian) concern with the most troubled continent. Soderberg's aim is the Bible as goad to social and environmental conscience, not road map to personal salvation, and the response of readers will turn as much on politics as faith. This is, after all, a Bible with—for God's sake—a photo of Al Gore. M



WHAT THEY GOT FOR IT ... A TUCKER 'TORPEDO'

One of only 51 Tucker cars ever built by automotive visionary Preston Tucker, a low-mileage 1948 sedan was recently auctioned off in Monterey, Calif., for US$1 million, almost twice the price paid for the same model in 2006. Nicknamed the Torpedo, it was restored in Canada by Tucker expert Bill Hamlin. The million-dollar sedan features a Cord electric preselector transmission, a moss-green paint job, and restored tan interior.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JEFF HARRIS

The end of love and a famous voice

With his heart and his vocal chords shredded, Ian Tyson bares his soul on a brave new CD

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON • Ian Tyson is on the phone, and his voice sounds as ragged as a tumbleweed rattling over a dusty plain. It's 8 a.m. in High River, Alta., and a fierce gale is whipping across Tyson's ranch. "The wind is blowing like there's no tomorrow," he says. "It's going to be a hundred clicks today. You gotta tie things down. When I first came here they had these asphalt shingles on the barns, and when a storm took them off you'd see what looked like a huge, immeasurable flock of vultures in the sky." Tyson, the cowboy poet reaching for an early morning metaphor, knows a thing or two about wind. His classic ballad, *Four Strong Winds*—recorded with Ian & Sylvia and adopted by Neil Young—was voted the best Canadian song of all time by CBC Radio three years ago.

But one of the most beautiful voices ever to sing of women and horses and heartbreak is now broken. Its smooth, clear depths are drained and its timbre is cracked like a dry riverbed. The damage was done two years ago at the Havelock Jamboree, a country music festival in Ontario. "The sound was set up for Nashville rock 'n' roll, all heavy bass," Tyson explains. "I stupidly tried to out muscle the sound with my voice, which I'd gotten away with all those years. When I got offstage, I knew I'd done something strange and terrible. Then it was too late." His voice partially recovered, but last year he caught a nasty virus on a flight from Denver and it hasn't been the same since. "There's a lot of scarring down there," he says.

That, however, didn't stop Tyson from recording a new album with what was left of his vocal cords. Last week, the singer-songwriter, who turned 75 this year, released *Yellowhead to Yellowstone and Other Love Songs*, his 14th album. Most of the songs are sad ballads—made even sadder by a voice that's painfully torn and frayed. The difference in Tyson's singing is so radical that it amounts to a whole new style, and his Edmonton-based label, Stony Plains Records, is promoting his "dramatically 'new' voice" as a selling point. It's a half-talking delivery that sounds not unlike Mark Knopfler of Dire Straits. "I didn't realize I was doing it," says Tyson, "but when I listened to the album, I heard a lot of Knopfler. And he's a huge influence, especially on the songwriting."

Though the bass has dropped out of Tyson's voice, he has discovered some strange new frontiers in the upper shallows that give it a sense of fragility. "The bottom end is gone completely," he says, "but the top end seems to be lengthening. There's all sorts of funny avenues you can take in the upper register. I don't know what's going on."

Tyson says he was reluctant to record at first. But Alberta country singer Corb Lund, a close friend, urged him to forge ahead, saying, "I like your voice better the way it is now." Lund connected him with his Nashville producer, Harry Stinson, who has worked with everyone from George Jones to Steve Earle. Tyson laid down most of the album's tracks in Nashville in just four days, for a fraction of what he'd spent in Toronto on his previous record, *Songs From the Gravel Road*, which bombed. This album is attracting a lot of curiosity and some favourable reviews.

Most of the songs are tender laments for a lost love or a vanished frontier. Some verge on the maudlin, but Tyson is not content to sit back in the saddle of country and western cliché—who else would rhyme "some damn bureaucrat" with "abrogate a cowboy hat"? The title tune, *Yellowhead to Yellowstone*, is sung from the viewpoint of a pack of wolves transplanted from the Canadian Rockies to Wyoming—the kind of epic narrative Gordon Lightfoot used to write. And *My Cherry Coloured Rose*, about Don Cherry mourning his wife, was sent to him on a homemade CD by Toronto songwriter Jay Aymar.

The breakup ballads on the new album were inspired by "a deep, serious love affair that went south," says Tyson. "It's been a tough couple of years." But he's not referring to his divorce from his second wife, which finally came through last spring. "The divorce songs were on the previous album."

Living alone on his ranch, Tyson still works on a horse most days. And next month he's off to Oklahoma to ride in a major cutting horse championship. He will continue to tour with the "new" voice, and inevitably there are requests for *Four Strong Winds*. "I don't like doing it all the time," he says. "I wrote that thing in 20 minutes and I was just a kid. It's like someone else wrote it." Now it will sound like someone else is singing it. M



PERFORMANCE OF THE WEEK ... BUNKER PARK

A former Soviet bunker in Lithuania has been restored as Išgyvenimo Dreme, or Survival Drama, a realistic "theme park" of the Soviet military interrogation experience. Visitors can interact with former Red Army interrogators playing themselves. Visitors wear Soviet clothes, get interrogated, eat dreary Soviet food and even watch Soviet television. Tourists who manage to "survive" the experience are sent off with a shot of vodka.

PHOTOGRAPH BY JASON SCOTT/CP

MARKETPLACE

Psoriasis & Vitiligo

UVB Light works but are you tired of driving to the clinic ?
HOME UNITS ARE AVAILABLE !
Physician prescription required.
866-813-3357
SolarcSystems.com

COMPASSION GIVES HOPE
Compassion
www.compassion.ca

Leave the TaxMan to us!

Unfiled back taxes
Unreported income
GST/PST arrears
Unfair assessment
Audit
Collection action
Unpayable tax bill

A DioGuardi TaxRx™ lawyer-negotiated settlement resolves your tax problem for good.

- Lawyer-client confidentiality guaranteed.
- Protection from criminal prosecution and penalties.

Paul DioGuardi, Q.C.
Philippe DioGuardi, LLB LLL
Senior Tax Counsel

DioGuardi TAX LAW™ www.TaxRx.ca 1-877-TAXRX-02
Canada's Trusted Tax Lawyers™
TORONTO – OTTAWA – VANCOUVER

You can help CHANGE this statistic

Every 3 seconds a child under 5 dies because they lack simple vaccinations and medications, adequate food and clean water.

Plan

beasponsornow.ca

Only $1 a day can make a difference to a child

Reach 2.5 million readers every week.

To advertise here contact us at 416-764-1300 or edsales@macleans.ca

MACLEAN'S

TO LEARN ABOUT ADVERTISING OPPORTUNITIES PLEASE CONTACT 416-764-1300 OR ADSALES@MACLEANS.CA

YOU'RE INVITED TO CELEBRATE THE LAUNCH OF





BY KENNETH WHYTE

MEET *MACLEAN'S* PUBLISHER & EDITOR KENNETH WHYTE IN...

WATERLOO NOV. 17, 7:30 PM
Knox Church, Words Worth Books (519) 884-2665
Reading with Mary Lou Finlay

VANCOUVER NOV. 18, 7 PM
Chapters, 788 Robson Street (604) 682-4066
On-stage interview with Ken MacQueen

EDMONTON NOV. 20, 7:30 PM
Greenwoods Bookshoppe 7925 104 St. (780) 439-2005
On-stage interview with Todd Babiak

CALGARY NOV. 24, 7 PM
Chapters, 5005 Dalhousie Dr. N.W. (403) 202-4600
On-stage interview with Donna McElligott

TORONTO NOV. 26, 7 PM
Indigo, 55 Bloor Street West (416) 925-3536
On stage interview with Seamus O'Regan

MONTREAL NOV. 30, 10 AM
Books and Breakfast, sponsored by Paragraphe Books
Omni Hotel, 1050 Sherbrooke St. West
For tickets call (514) 845-5811

BURLINGTON DEC. 1, 7 PM
Engaging Ideas Series, Burlington Central Library
with A Different Drummer Books,
For tickets call (905) 639-0925

GUELPH DEC. 2, 7 PM
At the Bookshelf (in cinema), 41 Quebec St.
On-stage interview with Mary Lou Finlay
For tickets call (519) 821-3511

VISIT MACLEANS.CA/EVENTS FOR MORE INFORMATION

MACLEAN'S MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL

What the hell is wrong with you idiots: '08 edition



SCOTT FESCHUK

It's time for a new instalment of this column's most popular (i.e. only) recurring feature. That's right—it's time for What the Heli is Wrong with You Stupid Idiots, and Other Reasoned Observations

So now they're making a *Sex and the City* sequel, are they? *Idiots*

Don't get me wrong: I understand that the *Sex and the City* movie—which followed the thong-based exploits of, uhh, Veronica, Betty, the Professor and Mary Ann (I'm paraphrasing)—was a big success this summer. But (spoiler alert) Carrie got married in the film. And (nobody cares alert) various things happened to the other various characters. Bottom line: the show's big question has been answered, its fans' curiosity has been sated, which means that a sequel is going to stink *unless* they somehow completely rejuvenate the plot lines.

To do that, they need to take the girls out of their natural habitat of New York City and make it a fish-out-of-water story. Ladies and gentlemen (okay, just ladies), I ask you to consider the creative possibilities inherent in *Sex and a Very Small Town in Arkansas*:

- All four women pregnant all the time.
- Carrie's obsession with shoes consists of her sometimes actually wearing shoes.
- Character of Miranda portrayed by a weepy opossum.
- "Fairy tale" wedding means ceremony ends before water breaks.
- Touching subplot chronicles Charlotte's mixed emotions over becoming a great-grandmother.
- Dreamy rival to Mr. Big played by Cooter from *Dukes of Hazzard*.

So Lindsay Lohan is *still* dating a woman and straight men are *still* not doing anything about it, are they? *Idiots*

Let's start with a basic fact: we care deeply about the sex lives of celebrities. Consider the reaction a while back when it was rumoured (falsely, alas) that a sex tape existed featuring Britney Spears and Kevin Federline. The tabloids went nuts. Internet porn sites started a bidding war. And a broke Kevin Federline immediately began filming a crude reenactment using a Barbie doll and a Ninja Turtle.

It's not surprising, therefore, that people were intrigued when it was revealed Lohan was dating a woman, club DJ Samantha Ron.



In the sequel, *Sex and a Very Small Town in Arkansas*, they're all pregnant, all the time

son. Their relationship came to light this past May, when they were spotted kissing on Diddy's yacht at Cannes. Thus "coming out" was such a big story that it overshadowed the fact that *Diddy* had a yacht at Cannes. (What's next: 50 Cent in a Winnebago at the Booker Prize?) But only now, months later, are men coming to grips with what's been lost.

Lindsay Lohan was perhaps our most important heterosexual resource—an attractive, famous woman capable of seducing three men while simultaneously driving drunk and filming a music video for a song she recorded while breaking up with three other men.

I'll tell you one thing: Warren Beatty would never have let this happen. No pretty lady ever went gay on his watch. In fact, I'm pretty sure he's trying to fit into his Captain Wang costume right now so he can fly to the rescue of man's wounded ego and—*what's that?* Warren Beatty *wasn't* an all-powerful sexual superhero? Listen, you believe what you want to believe. Personally I see no other explanation for his private parts surviving contact with both Joan Collins and Cher.

So now aging rock stars are peddling their new albums exclusively at Wal-Mart, are they? *Idiots*

It began with the Eagles, who sold millions at Wal-Mart, and Journey, who also somehow secured an exclusive deal with the retailer, possibly when company executives, high on paint fumes from Chinese toys, briefly believed it to be 1986. Now add AC/DC and its new CD, *Black Ice*.

AC/DC's decision to strike an alliance with Wal-Mart is the latest example of hard times in the record industry. I'm not saying sales are way down across the board, but hip-hop stars now rap about their extravagant consumption of reasonably priced domestic wine coolers. The sense of panic is so extreme that 3 Doors Down made and released an album this year *without anyone at the record company noticing and stopping them*.

Exclusive deals with retailers are the wave of the future. But they give tremendous power to companies like Wal-Mart. Need proof? Here is the list of songs on the new AC/DC record:

- You Shook Me Until 9 p.m., at Which Time the Store Closed for the Day
- Let There be Rock Tumblers at the Everyday Low Price of $29.99
- It's a Long Way to the Target (So You Might As Well Shop Here)
- Dirty Deeds Done Slightly Cheaper Than at J.C. Penney
- Back in Black Pantyhose with Girdle
- For Those About to Rock We Encourage You to Check Out the Wide Selection of Bic Lighters.

ON THE WEB: To read Feschuk on the famous visit his blog **macleans.ca/feschuk**

EVERETT COLLECTION

THE END

DAVID HARRY PANAS

1948-2008

'The Scientist,' his schoolmates called him, but he liked to hunt, and had a reputation as a prankster

David Harry Panas was born to Harry and Katie on June 4, 1948, in Powell River, B.C., where Harry briefly toiled at a pulp mill. But he grew up well east of there, in the lake-dappled north of Alberta near the Saskatchewan border. There, Harry cultivated land at Iron River before buying the general store and a fleet of buses to service the schools dotting the farmlands, driving one route himself. By donating part of his own farmland, Harry soon arranged for the province to build a new, larger school next to the Panas property. Rather than see David—and later his sister Emily—walk to school on the road, Harry built a bridge across the fence that kept his cattle from the schoolyard.



One child Harry ferried each day was Rose Marie Kurek, who was unhappy when David, six months her junior, skipped a year, landing in her Grade 8 class. In retribution, Rose, using a pencil, stabbed him in the back. The pair soon became close, piling into a friend's jalopy for double dates. He was clever—kids called him "The Scientist"—but athletic, too. With his father he hunted elk, reeled in walleye, gathered berries and worked the farm. After Harry died of a heart attack, David, just 16, withdrew for a year, not even speaking to Rose. About then, a young coach at school took him under his wing, encouraging David to become a teacher himself.

In 1969, just before taking his first job, David married Rose. Two children, Valerie and Jason, followed. As a science teacher, David made life interesting for his students. A licensed pilot, he flew one class over a particularly striking geological formation. Soon he was principal of his old school at Iron River and won a reputation as a prankster. One pair of teachers, peeved at the extra work his enthusiasm generated, took to sneaking early into David's office scouting for evidence of new duties. David got up earlier, propping pails of water above his door. But he blanched when his own son or daughter, sent for misbehaviour, slouched into his office. "It was embarrassing to him that the principal's children were not these model kids," says Valerie. Before long, he was shaping the school system from on high, in Barrhead, seat of the local board. "He could take a blank sheet of paper and get it done," says one boss, Stig Schmold. Supervisors marvelled at his ability to convince staff a new idea had been theirs rather than his. Teachers noted his knack with kids. "It was like he was one of them, down there on his hands and knees," says one. To Schmold, he was also a hunting partner. Once, high in the mountains, they felled a mule deer, dragging it down. "Each of us grabbed an antler," says Schmold. Six feet tall and broad, he was "a pack horse," he says.

In 2004, shortly after being named superintendent of the Pembina Hills regional school division, doctors diagnosed David with bone marrow cancer. "He went from this strong man to half of what he was," says Schmold. "But his spirit was never diminished." David never did stop working. "He would be so weak I would have to carry his briefcase into work," Rose says. While juggling his duties—propped up at his desk with a stiff pillow—and radiation treatments, he studied his cancer. "We came to the conclusion he knew more about his illness than any doctor," says a colleague. After the cancer retreated, David did the unthinkable and retired. "We expected the cancer would come back and take him," says Rose. They travelled to Thailand and Australia, enjoyed their grandchildren, and David made homemade wine and moose sausage. At a new lakeside home in Sandy Beach, he sat for hours gazing at a favourite tree, watching the birds play.

Last month, doctors congratulated David on 45 cancer-free months. And he had begun a new job, leaving retirement to become superintendent of a school for Aboriginal children. At his first staff meeting, David watched as his colleagues smudged, a purification ceremony in which a bundle of dried herbs is burned and passed from hand to hand. When the smoking herbs reached him, David "removed his glasses and asked, 'I've never done this before—what do I do?' " says principal T.J. Skalski. "I so appreciated how humble he was. David was a lifelong learner. This was an opportunity to learn something new."

On Saturday, Oct. 25, David and Rose gathered together gifts and left their home to attend their granddaughter Joeley's sixth birthday party. There was a powerful windstorm that day—gusts tossed a tree into an Edmonton frat house and triggered burglar alarms across the city. Rose had not driven 300 yards beyond the driveway when a falling tree collapsed the roof of the car, killing David instantly. He was 60 years old. BY NICHOLAS KÖHLER

ILLUSTRATION BY TEAM MACHO





Relocating abroad? Wouldn't it feel nice to be welcomed with open arms?

We can help you cut through all the red tape involved with opening a bank account – and we'll start the process before you leave home. And because you'll take your credit history with you, it won't be long before you can start choosing everything from the right place to live to your new favourite restaurant.

To find out about a service that helps you get more out of the world, call 1-866-233-3838 or visit www.hsbc.ca/premier

HSBC PREMIER
The world's local bank

Issued by HSBC Bank Canada.
Eligibility for HSBC Premier is subject to meeting qualification requirements.